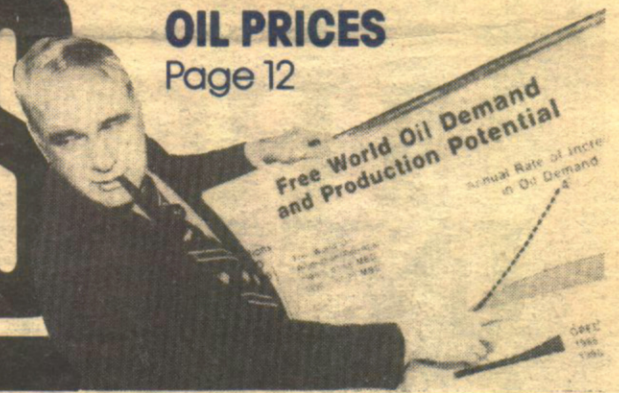


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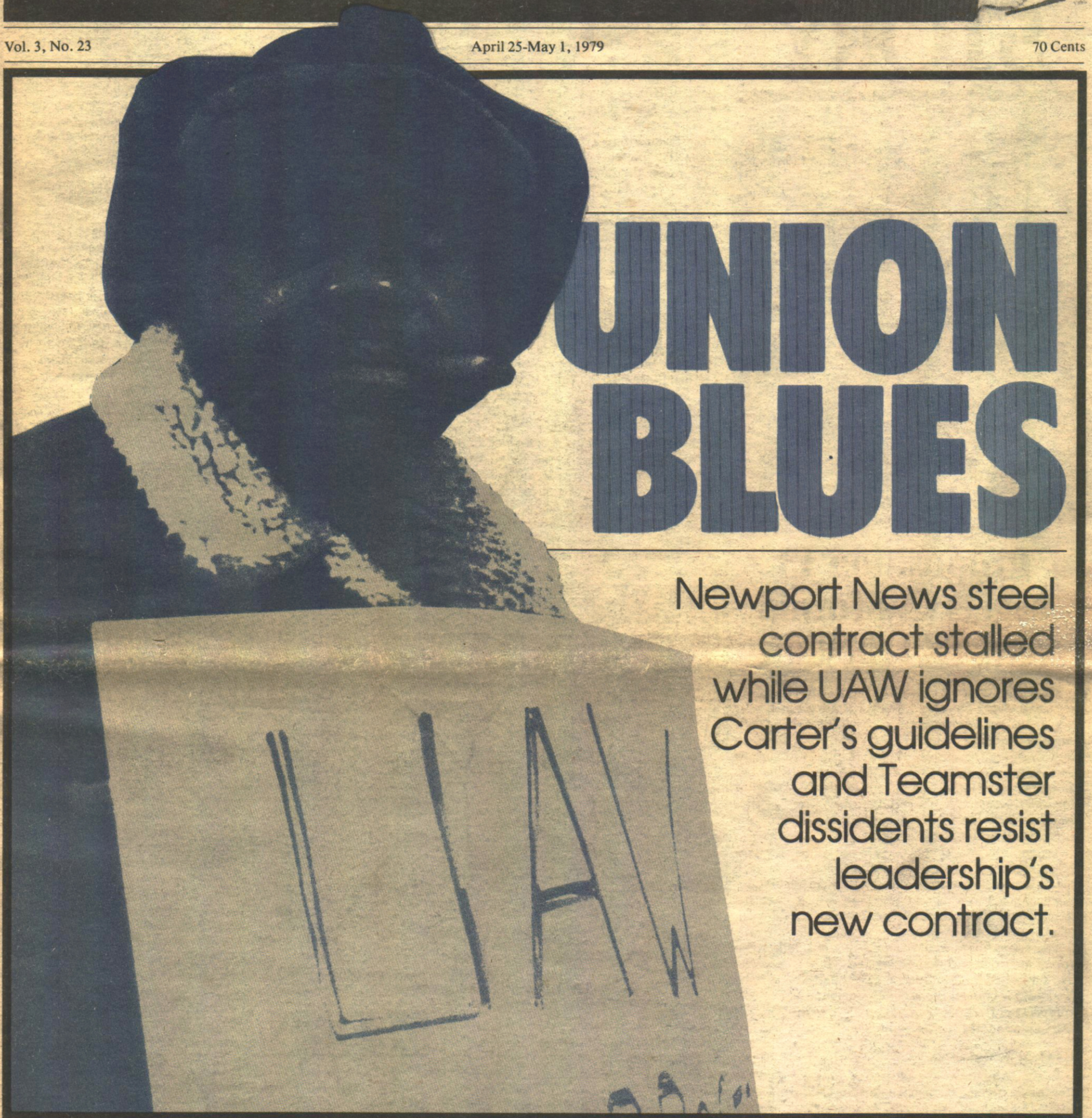
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April 25-May 1, 1979

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UNION BLUES

Newport News steel contract stalled while UAW ignores Carter's guidelines and Teamster dissidents resist leadership's new contract.

PLUS

FBI harasses Weatherpeople

Iran has trouble with its phones

Pat Aufderheide interviews "China Syndrome" writer

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



BCA candidates Veronica Fukson, John Denton, Anna Rabkin, and Gus Newport (left to right) with Jane Fonda.

Proposition 13 begets California renters' rebellion

When Proposition 13 passed last June, American Conservative Union chairman Phillip Crane claimed it as "our" victory. And a host of dour liberals and left-wingers conceded that a wave of right-wing sentiment was sweeping the nation. A few skeptics did suggest that support for Prop 13 indicated dissatisfaction with an increasingly unfair tax system rather than support for welfare cuts and laissez-faire capitalism, but they were shouted down as crypto-Jarvisites attempting to climb onto the right's bandwagon.

Ten months later these voices in the wilderness have been vindicated. While Proposition 13 has encouraged the opponents of welfare and government regulation, it has also led to a renters' rebellion, which threatens to turn California's cities over to left-led electoral coalitions.

There was some indication of this last fall, when voters in Santa Barbara, Davis and Santa Cruz, who had supported Proposition 13, elected left-liberal mayors and city council representatives committed to rent control. But final proof came this April in the Berkeley and Santa Monica city elections.

Renters be damned.

In the '70s, under the impact of inflation and the California dream, property values in California were rising 15 to 20 percent a year. Property taxes, pegged to the market values, were naturally keeping pace, with the result that California cities and the state government found itself with rising tax revenues, and California residents found themselves with rising tax bills.

Howard Jarvis, an apartment owner, had a businessman's and an apartment owner's solution: stop the values at which property is assessed from going up more than 2 percent a year, unless the property changes hands, while allowing market values to proceed apace. The result has been that market values have skyrocketed, while property taxes have not.

The immediate beneficiary has been home-owners, businesses and apartment owners—especially the latter, since their taxes went down while their income on rents, depending on the housing market, stayed the same or went up. The biggest long-term beneficiary will be California businesses, since their property tends to change hands less frequently than residential property with the result that their assessed value will lag very far behind their market value.

The immediate loser is the renter. With migration to California continuing, vacancies continue to be almost nonexistent in California's cities—for instance, San

Francisco's 2.3 percent rate is one-third the usual rate for U.S. cities—and so the price of housing and rents has gone up.

Santa Monica victory.

Santa Monica is an oceanside city of 100,000 carved out of West Los Angeles. It has had its wealthy and its middle-class sections. I arrived early for my interview with Derek Shearer, who helped organize Santa Monica for Renters' Rights, the group that was running Ruth Yannatta (Shearer's wife) and Bill Jennings for city council and was sponsoring a powerful rent control initiative.

I walked along the beach and up the street where Shearer lived. The houses were modest two-story affairs similar to ones I have lived in myself. There was none of the regal elegance or ostentation of Bel Air or Beverly Hills. I found myself thinking Santa Monica would be a nice place to live.

A two-story brown shingle house down the street from Shearer had a sign advertising a 2-bedroom upstairs flat for rent. When I saw Shearer, I asked him how much the landlord was asking. \$750 a month, Shearer said. Thus ended my dream of living in Santa Monica.

In Santa Monica, where 80 percent of the residents are renters, rents have gone up as much as 100 percent since Proposition 13 passed. Condominium conversion has also accelerated.

The proposed rent control ordinance would roll back rents to April 1978 and establish a rent control board that would have to approve condominium conversions (depending on the city's vacancy rate) and would also oversee evictions. With only new buildings exempt from the board's rulings, developers had applied for 150 demolition permits in the three months preceding the election so that if the law passed, it could still create condominiums.

Santa Monica for Renters' Rights included, Shearer told me, tenants groups, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the Retail Clerks, the local Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED) chapter, and some environmental groups. "It is a model of what the [UAW-sponsored] Progressive Alliance could look like on a local level," he said.

Yannatta and Jennings ran in a field of 14 candidates vying for three council seats. All their opponents were right-wing Republicans. Shearer estimated that they were outspent by their opposition by seven to one.

On election eve, Ralph Nader came to Santa Monica to lend his support to the slate. It turned out he could have stayed home. Yannatta and Jennings came out far ahead of the field, and rent control got 55 percent of the vote.

BCA fulfills its promise.

A week later, on April 17, Berkeley went to the polls to elect a mayor, four out of nine city council members, a city auditor, and three control board members. It was the fifth bi-annual test for Berkeley's left-wing electoral coalition, which began as the April Coalition in 1971 but was rechristened Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA).

In 1971 the youth-oriented, anti-war, communitarian April Coalition had come within a few hundred votes of a council majority. Since then, with the war no longer an issue and with its membership older and more civic-minded, its hold on city voters had fallen. In 1977, when a rent control ordinance and most of its council candidates were soundly defeated, the future looked bleak indeed.

But BCA transformed itself into a membership organization with a staff and ongoing community projects. It sponsored a successful rent rebate measure in November 1978, which required Berkeley landlords to pass

on 80 percent of their savings from Proposition 13. And with a mayor and city council majority that had opposed rent rebates and rent control, BCA made rent control the main issue of the April 1978 election.

In a January convention, BCA selected a slate to run, led by black Labor Department official Gus Newport for mayor. With the backing of CED and Congressman Ron Dellums' office, Newport was narrowly chosen over white city council member John Denton. It was a significant choice, one BCA member explained. By choosing Newport, BCA had opted for expanding its base out of the predominantly student "Flatlands" into Berkeley's black community rather than its affluent white "Hills."

BCA's rivals, the Berkeley Democratic Club, sponsored a slate led by Mayor Warren Widener, a moderate rival to Dellums for local black influence.

In the April 1977 election, BCA candidates were outspent 15 to one. In this year's election, with the help of several CED-Jane Fonda fundraising events, they were only outspent three to one. BCA also attracted a veritable army of 300 precinct workers, who targeted potential BCA voters and got them to the polls.

Prior to election day, BCA members were somewhat pessimistic about the outcome. Some Democrats who saw themselves in between BCA and the Widener slate had attempted to divide Florence McDonald, the most openly "radical" of the council candidates, from the other candidates by publicly endorsing everyone but her.

But on election day, three of BCA's four council candidates won, including McDonald. Newport won the mayor's office and BCA took the auditor's race and two of three school board seats. Its initiatives calling for the city to withdraw its funds from banks with investments in South Africa and to make marijuana arrests the lowest police priority, won a majority of votes.

The black community, which had previously gone 70 percent for Widener, gave Newport 50 percent. And BCA got out its vote in the Flatlands.

Left vs. right.

The rent rebellion has by no means been limited to Berkeley and Santa Monica. In San Francisco, irate tenants sat in last month at the office of developer Angelo Sanguinetti after he raised rents in his 1,100 units as high as 62 percent. Not only did Sanguinetti back down, but a Board of Supervisors, fearful of a gathering storm, passed a 60-day rent freeze.

Earlier, a similarly fearful Los Angeles City Council had passed a rent control law.

And next fall, Santa Monica-type rent control initiatives are expected to be on the ballot in San Francisco, El Monte (a largely Chicano section of West Los Angeles), and Hayward.

But Berkeley and Santa Monica, coming on the heels of Santa Barbara, Davis and Santa Cruz election victories, have a special significance. They show how a left-wing electoral coalition, generally pro-labor, environmentalist, and anti-corporate, was able to mobilize the dissatisfaction that was integral to and a consequence of Proposition 13.

Statewide, however, the next big test will come in June 1980. An initiative to limit spending sponsored by Jarvis cohort Paul Gann has already qualified for the ballot. Like Michigan's Headlee initiative, its main effect will be to encourage budget cuts.

Meanwhile, a coalition involving public employee groups, CED, and left-leaning local and state officeholders is considering a new tax initiative that would reduce homeowner property taxes, but not business property taxes, and give renters a \$300 yearly rebate.

If this initiative qualifies, Californians will have a choice between left and right-wing solutions to their tax problems.

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IN THESE TIMES

Steel union Southern challenge stalled

By David Moberg

SHIPYARD WORKERS IN NEWPORT News, Va., were on the verge of "rescinding" their strike, now nearly three months old, when a management company provoked them by the means of the union leadership and raised tensions drastically in this large-scale effort to organize industrial workers in the South.

Local and state police clashed heads and cleared the streets of strikers early in the morning of April 16, the day the local executive board had originally set for a return to work. Those plans had been changed on the previous Friday when over 5,000 local union members voted to postpone the end of their strike another week.

They demanded that the shipyard, a subdivision of the Westinghouse conglomerate, drop its requirement that each returning worker sign an individual statement that he or she was resigning the job "unconditionally." Normally the union makes a collective agreement to return without conditions in calling off a strike over unfair labor practices.

The decision to return, urged by staff representatives of the Steelworkers union, has been portrayed by the union as a tactical move, not an abandonment of the effort to force Newport News Shipbuilding to bargain with the Steelworkers union, which ousted a longtime company union in a decertification election over a year ago.

In some sense it was a defeat, however, since the goal of the strike was to force the shipyard to recognize the Steelworkers. Yet it might best be called a retreat to regain strength. Now the crucial test will be whether the union can gain support among the less-committed as hard-core unionists return to their jobs.

From the beginning, the union faced a tough fight for the loyalty of workers in an area where union traditions are weak and where both the company and government officials are hostile. Union and



United Steelworker strikers at the Newport News Shipyard taunt a worker crossing the picket line.

company claims about the numbers crossing the picket lines have always been far apart, with local journalists and other observers often splitting the difference. By all accounts, however, workers trickled back across the picket line in greater numbers as the strike progressed, although the situation may have stabilized recently. The company said strikebreakers increased from 55 percent to 75 percent; the union

estimates started at 15 percent and rose to 40 percent; local journalists put the figure in recent weeks at 65 percent.

Company legal maneuvers.

The strike has also been complicated from the beginning by the legal maneuvers of the company. It appealed to the federal appeals court the National Labor Relations Board's certification of the Steel-

workers as bargaining agent. The court ruled on March 2 that the NLRB should hold a hearing on charges by the shipyard and the company union, Peninsula Shipbuilders association that the election was marred by "chain balloting," removal of ballots from the polling booth and passing them on to other voters.

Although the appeals court ruling was described as routine, it was also a victory in the corporate campaign to delay negotiations. Hearings before an administrative law judge are now over and his decision is expected soon, but it is virtually certain that there will be appeals to the NLRB and quite possibly to the federal courts again. The delays could run from months to perhaps even a couple of years, observers say.

The strike deeply disrupted the shipyard's production, especially since certain key groups, such as welders, were not solidly on strike. Recently, for example, the yard stopped work on a giant aircraft carrier to shift those workers to other jobs. But some work continued during the strike and in late March the yard began hiring new workers, numbering about 1,100 by now. Although the strikers have solid grounds for establishing that they are on an unfair labor practice strike and therefore must be rehired, the company moves, the weakened support and the threat of extended legal delays pushed the union toward a new strategy.

Many of the workers who have returned to their jobs are Steelworker pathizers. Some felt that they needed a paycheck. Others simply haven't learned what unionism and solidarity entail, as various observers suggest. But with the solid core of at least 6,000 to as many as 9,000 union loyalists returning to the yards, the local union could boost its strength by aggressively fighting the company on grievances, unfair labor practices, safety and supervisory harassment. Since the shipyard personnel director has a reputation as an authoritarian boss, management could also help the union by playing too tough.

The shipyard's insistence that each returning striker sign the pledge of "unconditional" return may be a sign of that intransigence and arrogance, but it may also

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UAW ignores guidelines

By David Moberg

DETROIT

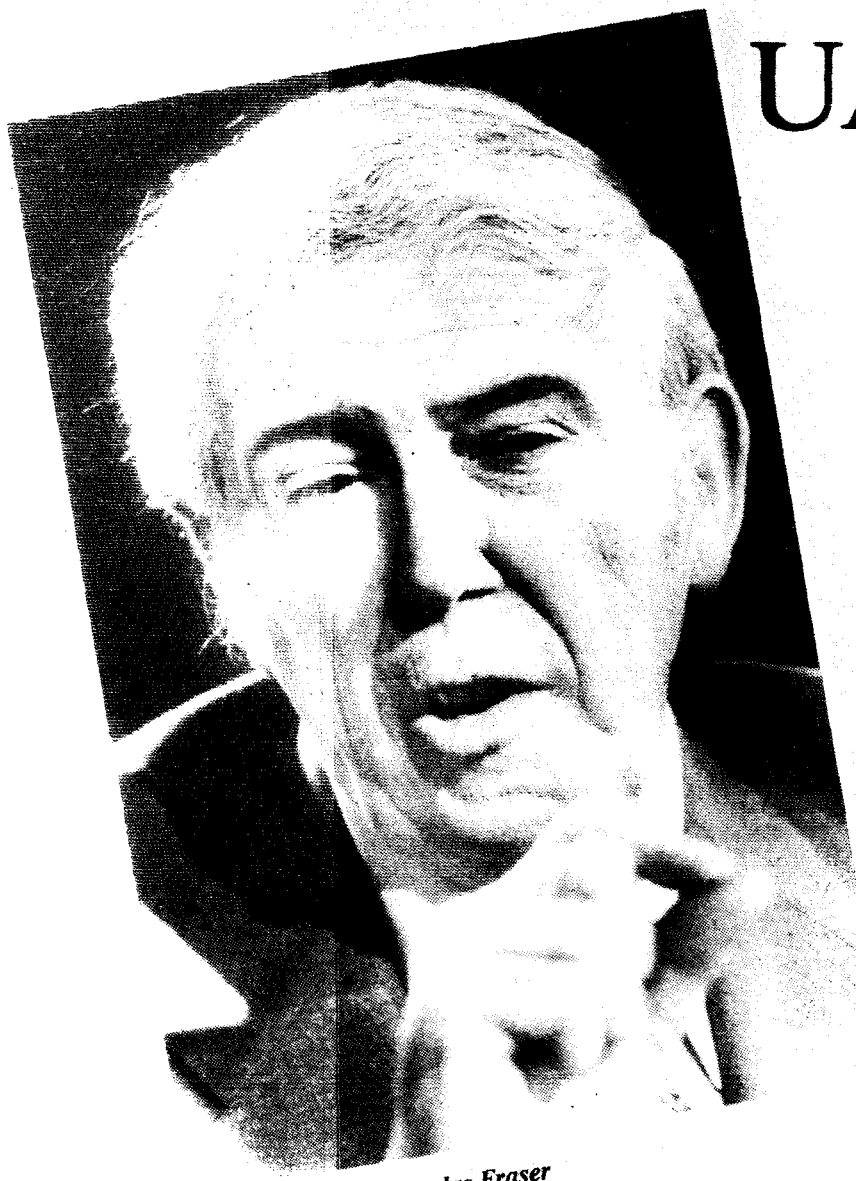
THE PRESSURES AND POLITICS of inflation dominated the bargaining convention of the 1.5 million-member United Auto Workers (UAW) last week, even though UAW president Douglas Fraser declared that the Carter wage and price control program has "self-destructed" even before the recent Teamster contract "bent the hell out of the guidelines."

Despite the immediate inflation worries, a longer-term, more diffuse specter also hung over the convention: accelerated automation of both assembly line and skilled work that could sharply cut employment.

In outlining the bargaining goals for auto, aerospace, agricultural implement and other industries whose contracts expire this fall, Fraser committed the union to cost-of-living protection for retired workers' pensions as the number one priority and to an improved formula for figuring cost-of-living adjustments for active workers.

He also pledged to reduce the work week further, probably through an extension of the "paid personal holiday"

Continued on page 8



UAW president Douglas Fraser

IN SHORT



Three labor representatives at the Abalone Conference are Wayne Thomas (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers), Percy Edmond (United Steelworkers) and Linda Brickman (Service Employees International Union).

NATION

Abalone labor conference

SAN FRANCISCO—Where might the anti-nuclear and labor movements cooperate? This was the question 100 anti-nuclear activists, unionists and coalition organizers attempted to answer at the Abalone Labor Conference called in San Francisco in mid-March by the anti-nuke group.

The conference revealed both common interests and difficulties. Several unionists supported nuclear power. They said the alternatives to nuclear power could not contribute enough energy, keep the economy growing and produce desperately needed jobs.

Furthermore, workers envision nuclear jobs, while they don't expect solar jobs. Tony Ramos, of the California State Council of Carpenters, pointed out that construction workers accept jobs even when working conditions endanger their life and limb, so they can't be expected to reject jobs for dangers that seem to them nebulous and down the road.

Debbie Farson, of Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality, while supportive of Abalone, said, "Why are we being forced to make these unnatural choices between jobs and a healthy environment?"

Unionists frequently suggested cooperating for workplace health and safety. Safety for nuclear workers is a natural link between the anti-nuclear and labor movements. Farson said, "To reach workers you have to realize that the whole system, not just the nuclear industry, in its compulsion for profit, disregards people."

Dave McFadden, of the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, challenged the anti-nuclear movement to develop legislation that would convert nuclear to alternative energy sources, and also provide for workers' security, retraining, and help for communities whose economics depend on nuclear reactors.

—Liv

WTTW airs Nuclear Gang

CHICAGO—In the April 11-17 issue, *ITT* reported on *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang*, a film Saul Landau and Jack Willis made with Jacobs—who was dying of cancer he believed he had contracted while investigating radioactive waste deposits. We noted that the film was broadcast on most public television stations—with a few exceptions, including Chicago's WTTW.

But WTTW did eventually transmit the film, on prime-time, and even took out ads announcing its change in schedule from the national PBS "feed." A locally organized panel discussion followed, with reps from a utility company, a nuclear research lab and the state government, as well as an anti-nuclear activist and a doctor.

Says Jack Wilson, director of information services at WTTW, "There was no controversy. We always intended to show the film. In fact, we thought it was so important that we made it into a bigger special, enlarging the programming with a panel."

High school teacher Sue Berg represented anti-nuclear opinion on that panel. (although state attorney general William Scott, also present, critiqued waste disposal, he cautiously avoided general statements). She believes that WTTW showed the film because of pressure from phone calls and because of meetings with groups like American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Clergy and Laity Concerned and others looking for better TV coverage of nuclear and disarmament issues.

—Pat Aufderheide

Creeping socialism

CHICAGO—Congressmen's free medical services are "creeping socialism," California's Rep. Ron Dellums told a laughing crowd at the Second Annual Conference of the Chicago Coalition for a National Health Service March 31.

"Why should I have to have my super-nigger card (Congressional ID) to give me what Americans ought to have by right?" Dellums asked. He said his bill addresses problems of high prices, lack of access, unreliable care and no effective democratic control in the health care industry.

The all-day conference, which the year-old group originally planned for 200, attracted 500 to workshops on health care issues and Dellums' luncheon speech. He is sponsor of HR-2969, to create a national health service.

—Lori Granger

Helsinki Commission

WASHINGTON—Early in April, the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, popularly known as the Helsinki Commission, held hearings in Congress to seek an answer to the question: Does the U.S. violate the human rights of its citizens as defined by international standards?

A December 1978 memorandum from President Carter directing federal agencies to cooperate with the commission on matters of domestic compliance encouraged the Commission to hold the first hearings on internal conditions. The aim of the Commission is to publish a report on U.S. compliance by the end of the year.

Testimony was presented by a number of government officials including Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall and Special Assistant to the President Sarah Weddington. Two private Helsinki monitoring groups were also heard: The New York-based Helsinki Watch and the Washington-based Helsinki Watch Committee for the U.S.

Several violations of the Helsinki Accord were cited by representatives of various civil liberty, poverty and public advocacy organizations who were brought together by the two private Helsinki monitoring groups.

Additional testimony touched on the U.S. relationship to Native American land rights and the handling of the Micronesian Islands as a trust territory since 1947. The relatively poor record of the U.S. government in eliminating discrimination in its own practices was also seen as an important contradiction.

Morton Sklar, chairman of the D.C.-based Helsinki monitoring group, cited the reluctance of the federal agencies to cooperate as a chief obstacle to the work of the Commission. The Sklar group urged the creation of a permanent executive branch agency to monitor domestic compliance as a first step.

The bulk of the federal witnesses tended to downplay problems while pointing out the corrective posture taken by their agencies.

Claudine Cooper, of the National Urban League, stated, I think it goes without saying that the denial of basic human rights continues to be a problem in the U.S." She emphasized that the much publicized Carter push for international human rights has tended to de-emphasize the glaring problems at home. "We should not be so moralistic as to think we are without sin," she concluded.

Commission chairman Dante B. Fascell (D-FL) said, "We are lucky to even have these hearings." Fascell admitted that serious human rights problems remain for the U.S. For example, the Congress has thus far failed to ratify the United Nations Covenants on Human Rights, said to apply to all signatories of the Helsinki Final Act. The Florida Democrat realistically assessed the impact of the proceedings, saying, "We need to get it on the record one more time in one more place."

—A Lin Neumann

Paraguayans win stay

NEW YORK—Federal Judge Eugene Nickerson of the Eastern District of New York again postponed the deportation of Paraguayan accused torturer, Americo Pena Irala, this time until after April 30. Pena was sued on April 6 by the family of a 17-year-old youth he is believed to have tortured to death in Paraguay in 1976.

Dr. Joel Filartiga and his daughter, Dolly, filed a federal damage action against Pena under a section of the U.S. Code that allows an alien to bring a personal injury suit in this country for violations of the law of nations and U.S. treaties.

The suit charges that Pena, as an individual and in his official capacity as chief inspector of police and member of a Paraguayan torture squad, kidnapped, tortured and murdered Joelito Filartiga in retaliation against his father for his opposition to the Stroessner dictatorship.

The Filartigas stated that they have no remedy at law in Paraguay, where the judiciary is controlled by the Stroessner regime. When Filartiga attempted to sue Pena and the Paraguayan police for the death of his son, his attorney was arrested and Pena threatened him with death.

Judge Nickerson ruled on April 9 that Pena could not be deported until attorneys representing the youth's family had an opportunity to take his deposition. The April-9 ruling marks the first time a deportation had been stayed by a third party for violation of human rights.

Pena and his companion, Juana Villalba refused to be questioned. They asked that their depositions be postponed until their lawyer arrived from Paraguay. As they were not certain when that would be, the judge scheduled a new hearing for April 30.

—Laura Cianci

WORLD

French fallout

FRANCE—There's a widespread notion in France that the anti-nuclear movement (like the May '68 events) is all just part of an American plot to weaken French independence. Since France has no oil it must either turn to nuclear power or become a bucolic outpost of the American empire. Die-hard devotees of this theory will doubtless conclude that all the heat and light generated by the Three Mile Island mishap just showed how far Americans are willing to go to deprive others of the benefits of advanced technology.

But after the CFDT trade union confederation disclosed that a similar incident occurred recently at the Gravelines nuclear plant near Dunkirk, opposition to the French government's all-out nuclear policy is shifting from the margins to the center of political controversy. The socialist party called for a "pause" in the nuclear construction program until the whole safety problem could be reviewed in light of the Harrisburg accident.

But the Communist party retorted that it was opposed to "a moratorium that could only favor the domination of multinational groups over our nuclear industries." At the same time, Communist deputy Andre Lajoignie said it might be a good idea not to renew France's contracts with the U.S. firm Westinghouse when they run out.

—Diana Johnstone

Good news

GERMANY—The West German left, one of the world's most depressed throughout the '70s, is arousing itself from the doldrums to publish two new newspapers. *Die Tageszeitung* ("The Daily Paper"), a product of the diverse "movement" focusing mainly on life-style issues such as ecology and feminism, began publication on April 17. *Die Neue* ("The New One"), closer to the left wing of the Social Democratic party, will start appearing on May 1. Both will be on newsstands five days of the week.

The new papers' unprovocative names show the desire to counter the public image of the left forged by the mass circulation newspapers owned by Axel Springer, which for years have been treating conformist German readers to a freak show of "radicals" portrayed as weird and dangerous maniacs.

—Diana Johnstone

CHINA — THE SICK DRAGON by DOUG WARD

Translated from China official documents, unpublished in the U.S.

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IN THE NATION

LABOR

Dissidents oppose new Teamster pact



Marty Pomeroy

By Mike Kelly

CHICAGO

YOUR JOB IS TO MAKE SURE that contract is voted in," Roy Williams, vice-president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and co-chairman of the Negotiating Committee of the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA) told the full committee of 700 delegates from 350 locals covered by the nation's largest collective bargaining agreement, who met here in the Pick Congress Hotel April 18.

The committee, in a peaceful meeting without opposition, voted to recommend that the membership accept the tentative agreement between 300,000 drivers, dockworkers, warehousemen and clerks of the IBT and trucking employers. The agreement calls for a total wage package of approximately 30 percent of three years.

But even as Williams spoke to the committee, 5,000 to 8,000 steelhaulers in Canton, Youngstown and Milltown, Ohio, and in Pittsburgh, Pa., continued the wildcat strike that began April 1 against their supplement to that contract. The wildcat strike, being led by Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), was spreading to Harrisburg, Pa., and Gary, Ind.

Ken Parr, national secretary for TDU, told ITT, "TDU is opposed to the National (NMFA) agreement and we are urging the Teamster membership to vote no. We will be putting out a special issue of 70,000 copies of our newspaper, *Convoy*, and bulletins for meetings being held here this weekend explaining the issues and urging the membership to vote no."

The contract's 30 percent raise is over the Carter administration's voluntary guidelines of 21 percent, but below the 37 percent that the industry got and that Teamster president Fitzsimmons promised his membership a year ago.

But the new agreement also provides that new local and short-haul committees will be able to re-write the contract for smaller inter-state trucking companies in terms possibly inferior to the national master agreement. TDU has repeatedly charged that Fitzsimmons and other officials promote sweethearts through rewriting of the contract in these kinds of com-

mittees, and through the 32 supplements and scores of riders to the NMFA dealing with local working conditions. Fitzsimmons, who is sensitive to this charge, told the meeting, "I've never written a fucking sweetheart contract in my life."

Most likely, the fighting issue will be the local agreements on working conditions. Chicago Local 705 and the Chicago Truck Drivers Union (Independent) have agreed to the introduction of staggered starting times ranging from 6 am to 9 pm without overtime. Drivers previously worked an 8 am to 5 pm shift with time-and-a-half for work performed before 8 am or after 5 pm—this new agreement will both hurt the drivers family life by disrupting their schedules, and dramatically reduce the drivers' overtime wages, which often make up between 25 and 50 percent of their pay.

A breakaway group of California carriers is refusing to accept the tentative settlement unless it can get the union to negotiate on the issue of starting times for drivers. The California Carriers are demanding a separate vote on a separate contract for their drivers and dockworkers, but Fitzsimmons told the full committee this was unacceptable to the International.

At issue in the steelhaulers' wildcat is their Iron, Steel and Special Commodity Supplement, the only one of 32 supplements to the NMFA that remained unresolved at the time of the Pick-Congress meeting. The hang-up is wages. The Interstate Commerce Commission granted an 8.5 percent rate increase—but the carriers refused to pass any of that increase on to its owner-operator union drivers who are paid by a percentage of the freight rate.

The steel situation is complicated by the fact that of the 30,000 steelhaulers, only 10,000 are IBT members. The other 20,000 are mostly non-union, though some belong to the rival union, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FA-SH). And among the IBT's members, some are currently being led by TDU.

Fitzsimmons gave a very militant speech at the meeting attacking the steel carriers. "We chased those employers out of the International headquarters," he said. "We called them cocksuckers, we called them whores, we told them to stick the contract in their ass." But Fitzsimmons has not yet sanctioned the steelhaulers' wildcat, nor has he allowed strike benefits

to be paid out to the steelhaulers who have now been on strike for 18 days. Other officials promised the steelhaulers wildcat would be sanctioned soon.

Fitzsimmons told the full committee that the Carter administrations' voluntary guidelines were "too flexible in prices and too rigid in wages," and that the "only thing we were interested in was keeping our members in competition in the mainstream of American life."

"This is," Fitzsimmons told the officials, "one of the best contracts we've

The fighting issue will be the local agreements on working conditions. Drivers resent staggered shift that cuts paychecks and drives up hours.

come out with yet, given the conditions in the history of the NMFA in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. This contract is 25 percent more than the last contract."

Local officials began selling this contract to their memberships in meetings last weekend. Ballots for the vote on the contract will be mailed out April 25, 1979, and the vote count will begin May 11, 1979, according to union officials. The vote by the full committee to recommend the contract came a week after Teamster freight workers had returned to their jobs under the tentative agreement on April 11 following a ten-day national strike.

The strike-lockout began April 1 when negotiations reached an impasse, the union struck 73 trucking companies. The two biggest employer associations, Trucking Management, Inc., representing some 350 firms, and Chicago-based MATLAC, composed of 150 firms, responded with a national lockout of their 500 largest trucking companies. In addition to the approximately 250,000 freight workers idled by the strike-lockout, another 295,000 workers (mostly auto workers) were laid off as a result of the Teamster strike, according to the Labor Department.

NUCLEAR ARMS

Citizens protest land for weapons

By Spencer Sherman

SANTA CRUZ, CAL.

AS PART OF A NATION-WIDE effort to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons, groups around the San Francisco Bay Area have organized opposition to development and expansion of local nuclear facilities.

Besides demonstrating their opposition through rallies, lectures, and active demonstrations at nuclear sites, an organization in Santa Cruz County (70 miles north of San Francisco) has gone to the County Planning Commission and the Board of Supervisors to convince them of their responsibility to stop nuclear proliferation where they can—at the local level.

In Santa Cruz a large and vocal group called People for a Nuclear Free Future (PNFF) are opposing the expansion of the Lockheed Missile's and Space Co. facility located in the mountains surrounding the ocean town.

At the request of the Planning Commission Lockheed submitted a proposal for its five-year expansion plan. Included in the proposal were plans for a facility to produce an explosive (non-nuclear)

cotter-pin that would split apart the multiple nuclear warheads in the Trident II missile, sending them to their designated targets.

The Trident II missile system is the second generation of the Trident system whose major advancement is the ability to carry multiple nuclear devices in an individual warhead with a greater range, allowing a submarine to "hide" in a much greater amount of ocean. Appropriations for the Trident II have not yet been made by Congress. Lockheed is preparing for the future production of the weapon if it is funded by the government.

The Santa Cruz Planning Commission meetings on this issue were packed with local residents and members of PNFF. The first meeting took place on Jan. 8 in a building too small to hold the over-flow crowd. The audience proved too loud and unruly for the majority of the commission and Commissioner I.H. "Skip" Eberly set the tone for the majority of the board, proposing to accept only testimony relevant to the land use question.

"You're suggesting that we not consider the moral question?" asked chairman Stanley Nielson.

"That's right," said Eberly.

Over the disapproval of the audience

Continued on page 6.

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Weapons protest

Continued from page 5.

and one commissioner who objected to "this form of censorship," the commission voted four to one to limit testimony to the question of proper land use.

Over 1,000 people attended the continued public hearing at the local civic auditorium.

Whether they allowed it or not the Planning Commission was confronted with six more hours of testimony organized by PNFF and presented by students, community members, priests, engineers, environmentalists, and an array of other concerned citizens.

People for a Nuclear Free Future listed three criteria by which the permit could be denied: 1) Approval of the permit would be counter to the meaning of the County General Plan which proposes to protect "the health, safety, morals, peace, comfort and general welfare of the people of the country"; 2) The production of

nuclear arms parts is not consistent with the industrial make-up of the country; 3) The land Lockheed inhabits has been designated as "open space preserve" by the Parks, Recreation, and Open Space element of the County General Plan.

Robert Bosso, attorney for Lockheed, chided the largely anti-Lockheed audience, "Some people in this audience," he said, "would ban the production of Kellogg's Sugar Frosted Flakes because they are bad for your teeth."

The commission passed the permit four to one.

After the Planning Commission's final decision, county commissioner Gary Patton chose to appeal the decision without waiting for local citizens to bring the question before the board.

People for a Nuclear Free Future mounted the same, extended presentation for the Board of Supervisors. But this time, pro-Lockheed citizens had gathered together to present the merits of the permit. The supervisors were told of Lockheed's advancements in research and development of industrial and space technology, positive economic impact on the area, and support "for our necessary nuclear arms deterrent strategy," in the words of one person.

A former Lockheed engineer, Robert Aldrich, said of a first strike capability: "Intent alone is not a destabilizing thing. Capability alone is destabilizing because in the first case one knows a first strike cannot occur. In the second case one can never actually know if the intent is there, but will know the capability is." In this way the Trient missiles become a first strike weapon, he said.

The majority of the supervisors were not moved by the testimony. One said she "would not be intimidated by any unruly crowd," and that "land use was the only question here."

Two supervisors were opposed to granting the permit saying they wanted to "take responsibility on a local level for the avoidance of the spread of nuclear war."

"Nuclear weapons are an economic scam by the government and private enterprise and a waste of money," said Chris Matthews, a member of the Campaign for Economic Democracy who was recently appointed to the board by Gov. Jerry Brown. "What's right will be won," he said, "if not here today, then somewhere else. Fight for what you believe in."

The permit was granted by a vote of three to two. One week after approval of the permit seven people were arrested outside the Santa Cruz Lockheed plant in a peaceful demonstration. That same week 28 people were arrested at the Lockheed Sunnyvale plant.

The use of the planning commission as a forum for the debate on nuclear arms was one way anti-nuclear groups are trying to be heard. "It didn't work here," said one member of the audience, filing out of the last supervisor meeting. "But who knows, maybe it will work somewhere else."

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Ex-Weatherpeople press suit against FBI harassment

Since pressing the suit, one plaintiff's house has been burnt down, and another's has been ransacked.

By Patrick Lucefield

NEW YORK

THE FBI DIRECTOR WILLIAM H. Webster, "the case is closed," but ask Jane Spielman and Dana Biberman and they'll tell you it's only just begun. The case involves ten years of FBI efforts to keep track of the radical Weatherpeople, efforts that have included illegal wiretapping, break-ins and mail tampering, not to mention harassment of alleged relatives and friends of group members in the New York City area. Spielman, Biberman and six others have filed a \$100 million suit in the federal district court of New York against Webster and a host of other government officials under the aegis of the Committee for the Suit Against Government Misconduct. Among the defendants are former FBI director L. Patrick Gray, former number two man in the Bureau, Mark Felt, former counter-intelligence head Edward Miller and ex-agent John J. Kearney.

"We're not doing this for the money," Biberman said as she and Spielman sat sipping coffee in a dim noisy bar on Manhattan's Upper West Side. "We're aiming for full disclosure of the government's COINTELPRO program against the New Left and the black liberation movement."

Spielman was "captured" in 1970 by the FBI at her job in a local day care center after being named in a Justice Department "conspiracy to bomb" net cast by John Mitchell. The government claimed to have terminated COINTELPRO after a break-in at FBI offices in Media, Pa., and publication of COINTELPRO documents in *WIN Magazine* in 1972. But J. Wallace LaPrade, until recently head of the New York City Bureau office—has defended continued actions as "absolutely necessary for a free society."

Targets for "continued actions" have included the plaintiffs in the \$100 million civil suit. One plaintiff was arrested for posting, and when raffle tickets were found on her person she was charged with a violation of the New Jersey "Major Crimes Act." On May 16, 1978, the day the civil suit was filed, Dana Biberman's house was broken into and ransacked, though no valuables were taken. A month later, plaintiff Judy Clark returned home after speaking at a public forum on COINTELPRO to find her apartment had been gutted by fire, leaving her homeless. A mail cover on the plaintiffs apparently continues and the defendants have been consistently frustrated in their efforts to gain access to their FBI files, in stark contrast to the 100,000 pages of files on the plaintiffs FBI agent John J. Kearney received upon his indictment.

Kearney, a New York City field agent, was indicted by a grand jury in New York district court in the spring of 1977 for illegal activities carried out ostensibly in pursuit of the Weather Underground. On the day of his indictment, 1,000 FBI agents gathered in silent support for Kearney outside the courthouse in Foley Square. Conservatives in Congress and the press rushed to his defense, both ver-

bally and financially. This presented Attorney General Griffin Bell with a dilemma: how to appear to hold public officials accountable to the law while protecting FBI agents from prosecution for acts supposedly carried out as part of their official duties.

Kearney was the first of many indictments, the next coming in April 1978, when former Bureau director Gray, former associate director Felt, and Miller, once assistant director in charge of intelligence, were indicted on charges of conspiring to "injure and oppress citizens and acquaintances of Weathermen fugitives" while Gray was acting director.

On the grounds he had only been following orders, Kearney's case was dismissed and on April 21, 1978, Gray, Felt and Miller pleaded not guilty. While Felt and Miller admitted they approved the break-ins, they justified them as necessary to protect the safety of others. Gray stated he had "never participated in or knowingly authorized any illegal conduct" while acting director.

An all-too-familiar wrinkle emerging in the case raises questions about whether Gray *et al.* will have to account for their activities. The Justice Department is considering dropping the case against the three rather than divulge intelligence information that might, in the words of Dana Biberman, "blow the limited focus strategy" of the FBI and supply valuable information about abuses for use in civil suits against the agency.

Defense lawyers are insisting on access to classified information and the defendants are engaging in "graymail"—the threat to expose extraneous national security information as a lever to dissuade prosecutors from pressing their case. In March, the Department of Justice dropped perjury charges against Edward J. Gerrity, senior vice-president of ITT, making him the second ITT official in as many months to escape prosecution on charges of lying to a congressional committee about ITT involvement in Chile by using "graymail." Last fall, in a similar case, former CIA director Richard Helms was allowed to plead guilty to a misdemeanor rather than expose classified information about U.S. involvement in the 1973 coup that overthrew the Chilean government of Salvador Allende.

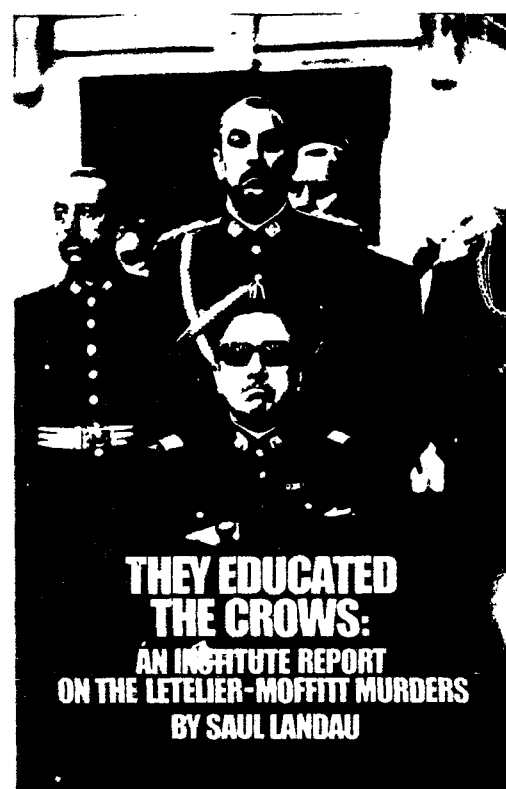
Dropping the Gray case would close up shop without a single successful prosecution.

Much to the chagrin of the prosecution, District Court Judge William B. Bryant has ruled that defense lawyers for the three accused should have access to classified materials and that he will not limit defense arguments on national security grounds. Unless they can insure that "national security" information will not see the light of day—thus keeping vital information about illegal FBI activities from the likes of Spielman and Biberman, the Justice Department ironically prosecuting Gray, Felt and Miller in the criminal case while defending them against the \$100 million civil suit, is likely to drop the charges, say well-placed sources in the Justice Department and the legal community.



Former FBI director L. Patrick Gray.

The Institute's Two-Year Investigation of the Assassinations of Orlando Letelier & Ronni Karpen Moffitt



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Southern strikers stalled

Continued from page 3.

have been a ploy to prolong the strike. As College of William and Mary labor relations professor Bill Warren argues, management had an upper hand and "now, all of a sudden, the shipyard will be on the defensive. It will be like a powder keg on the inside. If a supervisor pushes people around and gets snooty, the Steelworkers will say, 'Here is what happens if you don't have representation.'"

How strong was the strike?

Both the union leaders and management may have misjudged the strength and determination of the strikers, according to Rev. Walter Kennedy, head of the Concerned Tidewater Clergy, which has attempted to end the strike. "We had gained the impression that the strike was fizzling out and that a lot of people had gone back to work even though they were still sympathetic to the Steelworkers," he said. "But there were five to six thousand Steelworkers present at the rally last Friday. That was a very resounding comment on those rumors. Friday's meeting pulled everything up short."

If the Steelworkers do return to their jobs, rebuilding will be essential if they want to be able to win a solid contract with the shipyard. It could be necessary to strike the yard again to force the corporation to bargain or to win a contract. In either case, the test of loyalty will be posed again. If the Steelworkers can't solidify its hold on the workers and win a good contract, they could be threat-

ened by decertification moves within a year by the still-tenacious PSA.

Although the union has backed away from its earlier depiction of the Newport News as a test for organized labor's strength in the South, there seems to be widely divided opinion on both sides of the labor and management dividing line over the importance of the strike.

Some Southern industrialists, like some Southern labor organizers, doubt that Newport News—win or lose for the union—will seriously influence labor's chances elsewhere. Some textile organizers, for example, had downplayed the significance of the strike because they didn't want a defeat to hurt them and because management often uses the association of labor unions with strikes in its anti-union campaigns. Now that the strike is having its difficulties, other labor officials are quick to argue that the retreat is not a defeat and that Newport News was never the key to the South in any case.

Warren, however, sees the union's move as a serious setback for organized labor and testimony to the problems posed for labor organizers by the "character of the Southern worker." "One group," he explains, "can be easily intimidated, bullied. They're not inspired to fight. They literally were 'chicken' to stay out on strike. Another group plain and simply doesn't understand what it means to be a union member. They don't know what it means to take sides. Culturally, Southerners are not as amenable to unionism. Unionism is contrary to the accepted way of life. Also, Southerners are law-abiding and respect authority, including the authority of the company, some out of fear, others out of choice or tradition."

Militants overcome regionalism.

It is clear, however, that many of the Southern workers—both black and white—at the shipyard have become militant unionists despite those regional traditions. Could the others be turned around? Some union sources think that the Steelworkers should have tried to stop the strikebreakers from crossing the picket line from the

beginning, even though that would have meant confrontations with the state police. The line would have been drawn clearly and, in this scenario, support from the rest of the labor movement to the local militancy would have made Newport News into an equivalent of the Flint sit-down strikes in auto during the '30s for Southern industrial unionism.

Risky as that course would have been, there have been risks in the present strategy, as the current tactical retreat reveals, especially since the world shipbuilding industry is depressed. Beyond that, the Steelworkers lacked the legal sanctions that labor law reform would have provided. As a repeated violator of labor law in the past, Newport News would have been threatened under the original labor law reform package with paying wages lost by strikers and with loss of government contracts.

Nearly everyone except Newport News

Shipbuilding officials dismisses the challenges to the Steelworkers' election as weak and ill-founded. They expect the union to be certified eventually. But the experience will not lead anyone to believe that cracking the South will be an easy task for labor even if Local 8888 succeeds in solidifying its hold by returning to the docks and shops to battle the corporation in the hand-to-hand, day-to-day conflict of the workplace.

"We don't see it as a defeat," Steelworker spokesman Bill Edwards insists. "The company thinks it has beaten us, but the local strategy is to maintain the strike. We've got a majority. They did brutalize us today, but that will just solidify the strike." Prof. Warren thinks the union has taken more of a beating, despite very competent organizing, but he adds, "The war isn't over yet. George Washington retreated gracefully all over the place and he still prevailed."

UAW girds for fall contract

Continued from page 3.

plan introduced in the 1976 contract, and to reduce the amount of compulsory overtime by raising the overtime premium penalty or, preferably, by giving workers one-half hour of compensatory time for each overtime hour. This proposal, the most innovative in Fraser's speech, would require workers to take the time off after accumulation of a set number of hours credit.

Fraser said that "I seriously doubt" that the guidelines will influence the contract talks and warned the government to "stay the hell out of our negotiations," but he avoided direct attacks on Carter's plan. Since it hadn't worked—as many UAW staff expected when it was first announced—it was to be ignored.

Fraser added in a press conference that he would still favor a "social compact" involving negotiation of social goals, incomes and prices, such as in the United Kingdom. More than most U.S. unions, the UAW has been sympathetic to strategies used by social democratic unions and political parties in Western Europe. For example, it was more accommodating toward Carter's guidelines, although critical of inequities in them, than the AFL-CIO, and like the idea of the now virtually doomed real wage insurance proposal.

Falling behind inflation.

Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the UAW could win what it is after this year without exceeding the revised standard guidelines. In recent decades the real wage increase for auto workers has basically consisted of the 3 percent annual improvement factor, a figure originally established to reflect the overall increase in productivity in the economy. Even if the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) were revised to give a penny for each .24 of a point increase in the consumer price index (CPI) rather than for each .3 increase, the cost of the annual improvement factor, the COLA and other linked increases (such as vacation costs) would probably be 6.5 percent for the first year. Under Teamster contract interpretation, the council on Wage and Price Stability would exclude from the guidelines the increased pension costs for retirees, leaving a sizeable sum for other improvements.

The union leadership may be under pressure from members, however, to bring back a hefty wage increase, especially since the auto industry has profited so handsomely the past several years. Auto settlements have typically not varied with the economic health of the industry, but many delegates at the convention believed that they were falling behind the rapid rise of inflation.

Their COLA now recovers 82 percent of income lost to inflation, according to the Consumer Price Index. However, the CPI understates the impact of inflation

in the necessities—which are rising in price at a higher rate than more discretionary goods—and excludes other costs that cut into autoworkers' income, such as rising social security and other taxes. Taking some of these exclusions into account, the Independent Skilled Trades Council, the most active opposition caucus in a convention with little overt dissidence, figured that auto workers' take home pay increased only 4.5 percent last year, far less than inflation.

"I'm going back to tell my membership not to ratify the contract if it only offers a 3 or 3.5 percent wage increase," a delegate from a Lagrange, Ill., General Motors local said. "Seven percent would be reasonable for a raise—plus benefits and cost-of-living." Although auto workers are among the highest paid industrial workers, the average assembler making a little over \$8 an hour earns enough in a full year to match the Bureau of Labor Statistics' moderate level budget.

Inflation has pinched the tightest on retirees, however. In 1976 the big three auto retirees, now numbering 234,000 including surviving spouses, received a lump sum payment of \$600 but no change in their basic pension plan. The UAW now has four possible plans for cost-of-living protection, Fraser said. The strongest version would index pensions closely to the CPI, but some UAW officials fear that it would be difficult to make the pension funds actuarially sound with such an open-ended arrangement.

Threat of automation.

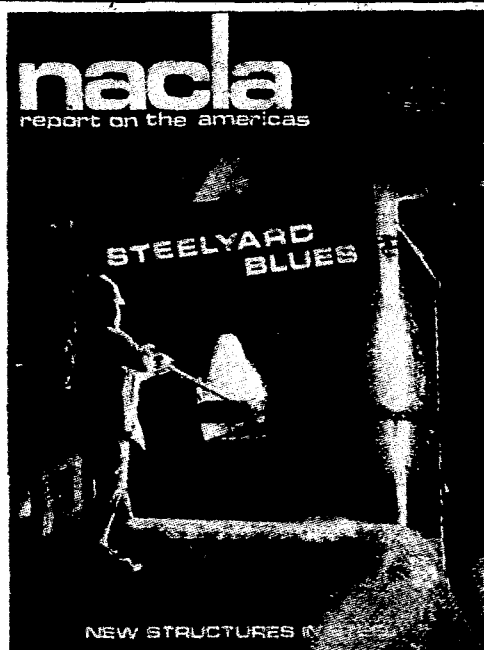
With auto sales still running high, many plants have heavy overtime schedules. Assembly workers, accustomed in the past to long "changeovers" before a new model, increasingly do not have that time off as the yearly adaptations are made more swiftly. Demands for more holidays, shorter work weeks and limitations on overtime are especially heated from these plants.

"Our people are tired of ten-hour days and six-day weeks," Lordstown, Ohio, assembly plant shop committeeman Paul Cubellis said. "The main thing they want is more time off."

Shorter work weeks are also pushed as a way to boost employment. The UAW figures that its paid personal holiday plan created "as many as 4,000 new jobs at Ford alone," although Cubellis says that GM at Lordstown can cover many of those days off with relief operators or workers who take double shifts.

If the auto companies take advantage of their massive retooling in the next few years to introduce more robots, computer controls and other forms of automation, the union may need a dramatic reduction in the work week simply to prevent large-scale layoffs. As much as 30 percent of the auto workforce could be eliminated by automation in the next ten years, according to Pete Kelly, treasurer of the Independent Skilled Trades Council.

The bargaining proposals call for management to give the union advanced notice of new technology and to introduce it in a fashion to minimize layoffs. Kelly argues that workers must have even more control over the new technology, since much of it not only would displace jobs but also would give management much tighter control over the remaining workforce if it remains completely under their control.



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IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Operator, give me Tehran, Iran. You say it's what?

By Eric Leif Davin

LINES OF TELEPHONE COMMUNICATION inevitably follow lines of economic influence. Thus, for instance, if a caller in Chicago wishes to call the Republic of Upper Volta in West Africa, the call is routed through Pittsburgh and bounced off satellites to Paris. The operator in Paris then contacts Ouagadougou, the capital of Upper Volta, while the caller waits impatiently for from one to three hours for the connection to be made.

The Republic of Upper Volta was a French colony and remains economically dependent upon France even today. It is to and through Paris, therefore, that all information travels.

But why Pittsburgh?

One answer may be that Pittsburgh is the third largest center of corporate headquarters in the U.S. While the steel industry is declining, the executive industry is growing in the "Iron City." Some of the corporations whose international headquarters are located in Pittsburgh include Helix ("57 Varieties") Corporation, U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, Alcoa Aluminum, and Gulf Oil.

Especially for corporations such as the last two, with holdings all the way from Chile to Iran, it is imperative to have good lines of overseas communication. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to discover that Pittsburgh is a major routing connection for overseas calls. Neither should it be a surprise to discover that a Gulf Oil executive in Pittsburgh can simply pick up the phone and dial a country like Iran direct, going through no operators and no foreign countries, and suffering no delays.

Lines of telephone communications inevitably follow lines of economic influence, you see.

Since the Iranian revolution, however, communications with Iran have developed problems: a portion of the Iranian telephone system itself was damaged, much of it was left in a state of semi-completion by American Bell International, Inc., and there has been a marked increase of calls into the country from the U.S., both by expatriate Iranians and corporation executives attempting to find out what is happening there on a day-to-day basis. Thus, there are more callers using fewer lines, resulting in the near impossibility of hooking into an overseas line not already busy.

Once through to Iran, you must know exactly who you're trying to reach and how. If you don't already know the number you want, you'll never find it. If you are lucky enough to reach an operator in Tehran, the capital, you will quickly discover that none of the operators speaks English. Even if they could, however, they still would not be able to assist you. The Tehran telephone system grew so fast that there is little accurate information about anyone's telephone number—or even whether they have a telephone.

Indeed, at the time of the revolution, the Iranian telephone system was in the midst of a massive expansion program coordinated by American Bell International, a subsidiary of American Telephone and Telegraph. The ten-year project, begun in

1977, was expected to cost \$14 billion, of which American Bell's share would have been \$1.5 billion.

However, American Bell stopped all work in January and pulled out all 1,100 of its people working on the project. Hubert Kertz, managing director and president of American Bell, said that "at the time of the work stoppage the work was right on schedule." But not only was the work left unfinished, no one is sure that it will ever be completed.

American Bell had a contract with the Shah's government for work to be done in 1978 totaling \$194 million, of which \$50 million is still owed by Iran for work completed. American Bell doesn't know if they will ever get their money from the new Islamic Republic in Iran or even if they will be invited back to finish the expansion program.

The *New York Times* reported in March that American Bell's contract with Iran had been cancelled, but Kertz denies this, saying that they have not been told by the Iranian government that their contract has been cancelled and are waiting, like everyone else, to hear from the new government.

Still, American Bell is confident that, no matter what form the new Islamic Republic in Iran takes, Iranians will still need American technology to call home. However, re-establishing the American Bell telephone project may eventually prove less important to shopkeepers in Tehran than to Gulf Oil executives in Pittsburgh.



Arrests and disappearances spark a left/right showdown

By Diana Johnstone

RUOLLAH KHOMEINI IS NOT the only ayatollah in Iran. On April 16 it became clear he was not the only one with a revolutionary following, when the leftist Mujahidin Islamic guerrillas announced they were putting their forces under the command of Tehran's Ayatollah Mahmoud Taleghani, a life-long adversary of the Shah, who just "disappeared" from the capital following the arbitrary arrest of his children by the "guards of the revolution" known as "Khomeini committees," which have become a law unto themselves.

The "disappearance" had its symbolic value in Iran, where the Shi'ite faith reveres the "Hidden Imam" as the true spiritual guide and has long favored the persecuted over those in power. From his seclusion, Taleghani, who spent 13 years in the Shah's jails, warned against a "return to dictatorship." Khomeini responded by proclaiming April 18 "Army Day," complete with a military parade, hardware and all. Khomeini declared that the army, which massacred the people during their long months of demonstrations against the Shah, is an "Islamic army in the service of the people," now

that many of its top officers have been executed.

Khomeini may have meant to show that even if he is not the only ayatollah in Iran, he is the only one that can command a real army.

The Mujahidin, in pledging allegiance to Taleghani, called for an accounting of all the armed groups, left, right and undefined, that have proliferated since the

Foreign Minister Karim Sanjabi has resigned to protest arrests of the left by right-wing Khomeini committees.

Shah's overthrow, increasing the threat of civil war.

The danger of civil war has grown as Khomeini's revolutionary leadership, preoccupied with moral purges, has failed to get the crippled economy back to work. Months of strikes have ruined many businesses, foreign capital has fled, assembly plants have shut down for lack of imported parts, and the Shah's most ambitious development projects, notably

several nuclear power plants, have been suspended.

But the government admits it has no money to invest in more sensible projects that would create jobs for the millions of unemployed now clamoring for the revolution to keep its promise to provide jobs for everyone.

At the same time, the "guardians of the revolution" have blocked the formation of workers or peasants committees that would attempt to provide a revolutionary solution to economic stagnation by taking over production and running it themselves.

The only activity open to thousands of jobless men is to take up arms. Since the revolution, some 70,000 have tried to enlist in the army. Economic drift and the political authoritarianism of the Islamic hardliners threaten to lead the revolution, initially non-violent and anti-militaristic, into a military phase.

The growing alarm of the liberal supporters of the revolution was also shown by the resignation of Foreign Minister Karim Sanjabi, who protested that Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan's government was kept virtually powerless by the mysterious "council of the revolution," whose 15 anonymous members, loyal only to Khomeini, retain final decision-making power. Even they do not seem fully in control of the "Khomeini committees." ■

ARGENTINA



Gen. Videla gets no more support abroad than at home. Here he is (forefront) at the inaugural ceremonies for the coronation of Pope John Paul I.

Military's economic policies may create Iran-type reaction

By Horacio Lofredo

ARGENTINA TODAY IS NO more stable, reliable or prosperous than was Iran before the seemingly impregnable regime of the Shah was toppled by the mass uprising of the population. Now that the third anniversary of military rule in Argentina approaches, the question can be asked: if Tehran, why not Buenos Aires?

Three years ago on March 24, those in the U.S. government and the private business sector concerned with political and economic relations with Argentina gave a sigh of relief when the military, headed by Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, efficiently deposed the constitutional government of President Isabel Peron. As the argument went, the military was compelled to intervene to end social chaos, official corruption and subversive activity, and to prevent the total collapse of the economy.

The media showed images of Argentine soldiers with doves perched on their automatic rifles smiling reassuringly at civilian passersby. Observers described the new president as a self-sacrificing and devout Christian and political moderate without personal ambition who would bring peace and stability to his beleaguered country. The appointment of Jose Martinez de Hoz, conservative landowner, cor-

General Videla, like the Shah, is meeting peaceful protest with iron repression, token reforms, and cosmetic changes.

porate executive and banker, as economy minister won the approval of financiers in the U.S. and Western Europe, which held the bulk of Argentina's enormous foreign debt of \$10 billion in their portfolios.

At the time, only a few critics predicted political repression and economic stagnation rather than an era of progress and prosperity. Few would now disagree that the violence and chaos of the last three years has exceeded the critics' most pessimistic forecasts.

The scale of the turmoil is unprecedented in the nation's civic and military history and barely stands comparison in

the national experiences of the rest of Latin America. Once respected as a strong and independent-minded world actor, Argentina has now joined Chile, South Africa, Nicaragua, Uganda and other outcasts from the community of nations.

According to statistics compiled by the Council on Hemispheric Affairs and other national and international agencies, Argentina continues to be the hemisphere's major human rights violator, with more prisoners in its jails, more of the innocent murdered and more of the government's opponents abducted than the rest of Latin America combined.

Curb excesses!

This record has prompted other governments and international and non-governmental organizations to demand that Argentine authorities curb excesses, release its victims and respect fundamental rights. In the U.S., congressional investigations and legislative initiatives have induced the Carter administration to impose a ban on military training and all sales of military equipment to Argentina on human rights grounds.

Using the facile argument that it could not risk releasing former guerrillas (a fraction of those now being detained)—who would rejoin their former colleagues—and fearing that testimony from deported victims of torture might further encourage international condemnation, the government has largely ignored the pressures of world public opinion to open up its jails.

Despite the damage to its international image, the majority of the military believes that the "dirty war against subversion" has paid off. They claim to have liquidated 85 percent of the guerrillas who in 1975 were confidently predicting a revolutionary victory before the end of the decade. Even so, the pace of repression has not lessened.

The Argentine economy remains sunk in its deepest recession since the 1930s. Its gross national product for 1978 has fallen by 3.4 percent, down to the level of 1973. While the cost of living has risen higher than that of the U.S., real wages have been cut by 60 percent since 1975 and are today less than a third of corresponding ones for American workers. The inflation rate for 1978 was again the highest in the world, 169.8 percent. During January 1979 alone the cost of food rose by 15.5 percent, while government wage guidelines permit a maximum cost of living increase of only 4 percent per month.

Bankruptcies rise.

The slump in the manufacturing and industrial sectors, due to the shrinking domestic market, has led to a record number of bankruptcies since 1976. The sharp drop in domestic consumption and industrial production have combined to cut imports and permit the accumulation of \$6 billion in foreign reserves, a figure that the government ironically cites as proof of the success of its policies and the strength of the economy.

A more accurate analysis of the reason for this figure may lie in the additional facts that new capital has not been invested to modernize the nation's industrial plants and the aggressive policy of Martinez de Hoz to contract huge foreign loans from multinational banks, like Chase, at several points above prime. These loans, often made more for political than economic reasons, go under utilized, only to burden any post-Videla administration with debt-servicing and amortization costs.

Artificially high interest rates have led to widespread speculation by foreign and domestic financiers. A series of recently publicized financial scandals point to high-level official corruption. The military meanwhile took advantage of their complete control over the budget to contract almost \$3 billion in military equipment purchases in 1978 alone in preparation for a war with Chile that so far has been narrowly averted.

When the social impact of the government's economic policies is added to the hatred and anxiety generated by political repression, it becomes clear why many of

the regime's supporters fear that the undisputed victory over the guerrillas can easily turn into a devastating political defeat and can pave the way for a resurgence of mass mobilizations and social violence. In the words of a general once in charge of counterinsurgency operations in Tucuman province, "For every guerrilla that I killed the economic policies of Martinez de Hoz are breeding ten."

It is not surprising that, despite military intervention of trade unions and stiff penalties for labor organizing activities, there have been hundreds of strikes and other job actions in the past year. The military, however, is determined to closely regulate and limit the scope of trade union activities through the enactment of legislation that would abolish industry-wide union organization and ban regional and national federations and confederations.

Under the new law, unions would be prevented from supporting any political parties, a measure obviously intended to break the linkages of the labor movement with Peronism. The new law would also force the dismantling of the 47-year-old Central Labor Confederation (CGT).

Coalitions are forming.

Trade union leaders, aided in their struggle for survival by a strong and active rank and file, have found tactical allies among industrial and commercial businessmen fiercely opposed to government economic policies. Political parties, sectors of the Catholic Church and some military officers disenchanted with the political process are now clearly gravitating towards this potentially powerful coalition.

The signs of a growing undercurrent of anti-government sentiment are visible everywhere, though foreign personnel stationed in Argentina often ignore them. Last September, for example, nearly one million people joined the yearly pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin of Lujan. The message of the march became unmistakably political; for social justice, against war with Chile, for respect of human rights. Critics, harassed and censored by the government, are forced to use very cautious language in public statements.

Reading between the lines, Argentines gauge the extent to which business, political, trade union and even some members of the military recognize and voice some of their grievances and frustrations. Last December, the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights, the largest human rights organization in Argentina, presented Gen. Videla with a request for information on 4,881 missing persons. Every major political party was represented among the signers.

Labor actions, peaceful demonstrations, public statements, petitions, religious services, constitute only the tip of the iceberg of the broad-based anti-dictatorial movement rarely noticed by the outsider and still ignored by those in power.

The Shah of Iran failed to see the writing on the walls and dismissed the warning signs everywhere. He answered the call for fundamental change with token reforms and cosmetic changes that only exacerbated existing tensions.

Confident of its own strength, the junta is following a similar course. Gen. Videla has now been converted to being a "civilian" president. A handful of foreign political detainees have been freed from prison and allowed to return to their own countries.

Some generals have taken to lunching and talking with unrepresentative political figures. The other members of the junta that seized power three years ago have been duly replaced by the officers next in seniority in their respective branches. Those who have borne the brunt of governmental policies since 1976 see in these "gestures of reconciliation" only the futile attempt on the part of the regime to project an image rather than a reality of stability, institutionalization, and legitimacy. Time may be running out on the generals.

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NORTHERN IRELAND

Protestant doctor blows whistle on British tortures

By Dennis O'Hearn

BELFAST

FOR SEVERAL YEARS THE ISSUE of political prisoners has dominated the struggle within the Republican (Irish Unity) section of the Irish community. But within the past few weeks the British government in Northern Ireland has had to face another issue: police terror. The issue of torture by police and army has cropped up time and again in the 1960s and 1970s, but the latest developments are especially sticky for Britain.

It all began in June 1978 when Amnesty International released the results of its own investigations, showing evidence of systematic brutality by the police during the interrogation process. (The Amnesty International report covered brutality against both Republican and Unionist suspects). This led to the formation of a government committee (the "Bennett committee") to investigate allegations of ill-treatment. The committee's report was to be released later this year.

But an RUC doctor beat the Bennett team to the punch when, on nationwide television, he detailed cases of police brutality. Dr. Robert Irwin, police surgeon at Castlereagh interrogation center in Belfast, claimed to have examined 150-160 people who had been ill-treated by detectives. According to Dr. Irwin, these men had sustained various injuries that could not have been self-inflicted.

"I've seen five ruptured eardrums; I've seen two injuries to bones of the forearms...joint injuries to both the wrists and the little joints in the fingers...some of the sites of some of the injuries would defy even a contortionist to produce the injuries," said Dr. Irwin. One man, who is now "on the blanket" in Long Kesh prison, was convicted even though he sustained over 40 bruises during interrogation.

Irwin, a respected Protestant of Belfast, had nothing to gain by taking his stand against brutality. In fact, he had plenty to lose, a fact which soon became apparent. The whole Unionist political structure came out in condemnation of Dr. Irwin, including statements by Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason and Chief Constable Kenneth Newman, who claimed, essentially, that he was a liar.

The affair came to a head last week when a British paper published rumors that Dr. Irwin was trying to "get back at the RUC" because police failed to apprehend a British army man who allegedly raped his wife.

The smear campaign went on to question the doctor's mental health. Very reputable inside sources have claimed that the rumors were leaked to the press by the top levels of government: the Northern Ireland Office.

As a result of the new allegations, the government was forced to release the Bennett report earlier than planned. In the best tradition of liberal commissions, the Bennett report weakly backed up the fact that police brutality exists within Castlereagh.

But, in the worst tradition of liberal democracy, nothing will be done about police torture centers. For the systematic brutality by police is the logical bedfellow of Great Britain's special "anti-terrorism" laws (e.g., the Northern Ireland Emergency Provisions Act), allowing suspects to be held without even the most basic rights, such as access to a lawyer and informing the suspect's family. The suspected "terrorist" is essentially held

in seclusion for indefinite periods with his or her interrogator.

The same treatment is possible in other parts of the UK under the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 1976. And overwhelming evidence shows that police powers have been used—in Northern Ireland as well as in Britain—to harass and mistreat political activists far more than terrorists.

This is revealed by the following facts: since 1975 about 15,000 people have been detained and held for up to seven days; of this number, less than 5,000 have been charged; over half of the 15,000 have complained of ill-treatment in varying degrees.

Besides beatings, this includes marathon questioning sessions (as much as 21 hours straight), being forced to adopt exhausting or humiliating postures, use of obscenities and sectarian slurs, and threats of force. The Bennett Report even found it necessary to suggest prohibition of "the use of threats of sexual assault" by the police.

Dr. Irwin is not alone, then, in his allegations. The number of policemen and former policemen who are suddenly finding a conscience is growing. A former member of the police authority, now a councillor in the town of Dungannon, recently said of his experience of police terror: "I will testify under oath anywhere at any time what happened and it may shake the world when they hear what did happen."

As this article is being written, the government has been shocked by the resignation of the head medical officer at Gogh barracks in Armagh (like Castlereagh, a "terrorist" interrogation center). The medical officer, Dr. Denis Elliott, said that he found he could not "operate under the conditions laid down in the Tokyo Convention Report on the treatment of prisoners held in custody." Dr. Elliott went on to say that he would not



A symbol of torture for many in Northern Ireland.

work in any holding center because "I cannot accept the conditions in interrogation centers."

Dr. Irwin, the Dungannon councillor, Dr. Elliott—these men are not wild-eyed Republicans, supporters of terrorism. Just the opposite. They all come from strong Unionist backgrounds, and have strongly supported the imperialist British presence in Northern Ireland. Yet the incidence of torture is too systematic for them to let it pass.

Some insiders claim that the immediate result of their stance is likely to be the

resignation of Chief Constable Newman in the near future. But as the British government renews the Prevention of Terrorism Act this week, it becomes painfully obvious that the police will continue to retain the power to torture for as long as the police state of Northern Ireland exists.

Perhaps as the British people see their own civil rights erode due to special legislation, as they have eroded in Northern Ireland, they will cease to ignore the British presence in Northern Ireland, and demand self-determination for the people of the whole of Ireland. ■

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Pol Pot rumored to be in China

By Wilfred Burchett

HANOI

THE NEW KAMPUCHEA REGIME of President Heng Samrin will put on a double celebration tomorrow, April 17: the fourth anniversary of the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Lon Nol dictatorship and the final crushing a few days ago of the Pol Pot regime. Details of the last days of the Pol Pot forces were given me by a Kampuchean officer who took part in the final offensive by Heng Samrin's Vietnamese-backed forces. They had good intelligence information from the local population, according to the officer.

From Jan. 7, a large-scale sweep-style operation led to the elimination of 60 small, medium and big military outposts. The survivors from these regrouped in three major bases: Abland, in the jungle 30 miles northwest of Phnom Penh, about halfway between the capital and Kompong Chanang, to which were withdrawn the remnants of six divisions (60,000 troops) of the eastern command, covering the Vietnamese frontier. Another in the Elephant Mountains—a traditional Khmer Rouge hideout—in Kampot province due south of Phnom Penh, the headquarters of the southwest command, headed by its commander Ta Moc, regarded as Pol Pot's toughest field commander. Finally,

Vietnamese troops uncovered secret communiques between Kampuchea and China.

the biggest and most important, Ta Sanh, where Pol Pot and Ieng Sary had their base. It is in the Pailin area, 20 kilometers from the Thai border, the headquarters of the political bureau of the Kampuchea Communist Party and its foreign ministry.

These bases were attacked and captured in the last days of March. But the big fish got away—Ta Moc from the Elephant Mountains, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary from Ta Sanh. Local people reported the two were last seen being carried in palanquins towards the Thai border. Ieng Sary left in such haste that he forgot his Chinese diplomatic passport, issued in the name of Su Hao, on Jan. 27.

My Kampuchean officer informant is entirely convinced that they are both already in Peking, having transited via Thailand. He maintained that each base had a huge military equipment depot with "thousands of guns" (14,000 at Abland alone), "thousands of tons of rice, hun-

dreds of tons of salt, scores of sewing machines, hundreds of radio communications sets, hundreds of Honda motor-scooters" and, at Ta Sanh, "a rich haul of secret documents in sealed containers." These included interbase communications and, more interestingly, cables exchanged between Peking and Pol Pot that "are being translated and will soon be published." He stressed that following the wiping out of these three bases the Pol Pot forces were left without artillery or motor transport, adding that when the Heng Samrin forces took over Kampoum Som (formerly Sihanoukville, Kampuchea's only deep-water port) they captured a large stock of Chinese 130mm artillery pieces.

Asked whether there were Chinese advisers at the Ta Sanh base, he replied: "Yes, at all three bases, but we left a back door open." The impression was that if the Chinese advisers could make their way home through Thailand, it would avoid an embarrassing problem. But alleged Thai support for the escape of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are being vigorously denounced by the new Phnom Penh government.

Meanwhile, the first day of negotiations between Chinese and Vietnamese delegations aimed at settling the border problems and normalizing relations has been spent on procedural questions. The question of an agenda will be tackled next. ■

Q: When is a shortage not FALSE PREMISE

A: When prices are higher

By Robert Scott & Richard Carlson

MAJOR AMERICAN OIL COMPANIES were dependent on Iranian imports for 2 to 4 percent of their crude supply, according to the General Accounting Office. Yet several majors have curtailed sales by 10 to 15 percent. "These cutbacks seem quite large in comparison to the shortfall," the accounting office says cautiously. As if to confirm this judgment, a Bankers Trust Company of New York analysis published in January found that no significant shortages had developed in the wake of Iran's cut-off of 5.7 million barrels a day previously shipped to the U.S.

Current oil consumption in the capitalist world averages about 54 million barrels per day (mmbd). Total production outside of the OPEC countries is about 21 mmbd, plus exports to capitalist nations of about 1.5 mmbd from China and the USSR. This leaves a shortfall of 31.5 mmbd that must come from OPEC production. Without any production from Iran the capacity of all other OPEC producers is about 28 mmbd. But at least four countries have the capacity to increase their total production. Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi have increased output by about 2.5 mmbd, and Kuwait and Venezuela could provide the final 1 mmbd necessary to balance supply and demand. Meanwhile, it will be possible for the consuming countries to operate at a net loss of up to 1.5 mmbd for a few months, by slightly decreasing their oil stocks.

In March, Secretary of Energy James R. Schlesinger told the Senate Energy Committee that U.S. oil inventories have been drawn down by 1.6 mmbd since Jan. 1, 1979, and that there is potential for spot shortages of gasoline this summer. But the 1.6 mmbd decline is almost entirely caused by a drop in heating oil stocks, which is normal for this time of the year.

Between Jan. 5 and March 9 stocks of heating (residual) oil fell from 208 to 123 million barrels, a drop of about 1.4 mmbd. In 1976 and 1977 stocks of residual oil stood at about 140 million barrels in March, so the current shortfall is more the result of poor planning by the refiners than of a shortage of crude oil. Stocks of unrefined crude oil actually increased from January to March by ten million barrels, during the peak impact of the Iranian shortfall. Imports have not declined significantly, and U.S. oil production is up several hundred thousand barrels per day above production a year ago, with consumption up only slightly. In short, there is no shortage.

There is, however, a tight market. A very small shortfall in world production of oil can lead to dramatic price increases. A surplus of oil in the last few years has kept prices stable, but the recently tight-

ened oil market has given OPEC producers the opportunity for another round of large price increases. Prices may rise to levels that had not been predicted to occur until the 1980s.

Who benefits?

The Carter administration's proposed pricing changes are designed to increase oil industry profits. In January, the Energy Regulatory Administration enacted a new gasoline "tilt" regulation that allowed refiners to receive sharply higher prices for gasoline, which has been controlled since 1971. The Department of Energy was pushing for complete decontrol of gasoline prices last fall (ITT, Dec. 26, 1978), but at that time the administration decided that decontrol would be politically unacceptable in light of the inflationary situation. Thus the "tilt" regulation was designed to give refiners the price increases they sought, without appearing to sacrifice the President's anti-inflation goals. Since the issuance of the "tilt" rules, gasoline prices in the U.S. have risen almost 4 cents per gallon, and the administration estimated that the full effect of the new rules could amount to a 10 cents per gallon rise by 1980.

In January the Energy Regulatory Administration announced that it intended to decontrol the price of oil discovered in the U.S. after Jan. 1, 1979, allowing the price for this new oil to rise to the world market price, an increase of about \$2 a barrel above the current price ceiling. Then on April 5, the President announced that he was going to decontrol the price of all U.S. oil over a two-year period beginning this June. This move will increase producer revenues from current levels of about \$29 billion per year to more than \$46 billion by September 1981, assuming that world oil prices remain constant. However, a more likely assumption is that world oil prices will rise more rapidly than the general rate of inflation over the next few years.

At their last quarterly meeting, March 27, the OPEC oil producers decided to increase prices by 9 percent to \$14.55 per barrel, effective immediately. A much more significant agreement now allows individual OPEC producers to place surcharges on oil prices. Algeria immediately announced a \$4 per barrel surcharge, thus raising its price to \$18.55, a 39 percent increase over February prices.

OPEC seems ready to institute another round of large price increases, and oil could reach \$20 per barrel by the time U.S. oil price controls are lifted in September 1981. At this price, U.S. producer revenues after decontrol would amount to about \$65 billion per year, more than twice their current level.

If world petroleum prices remain at the \$14.55 level, the immediate effect of decontrol on petroleum prices would be small, averaging 4 cents to 6 cents per gallon of gasoline. But if world petrol-

eum prices rise to \$20 the impact would amount to 17 to 20 cents per gallon.

How much do we need?

Transportation consumes just over half of all oil used in the U.S. Gasoline, burned primarily in cars and light trucks, is the largest component of transportation energy use, amounting to about 7.4 mmbd in 1978. (Eight mmbd were imported in 1978.) In his 1977 National Energy Plan, Carter projected that energy use for transportation would stop rising by 1979 or 1980. It is still rising, however.

Projections of gasoline demand were based on the DOT gasoline mileage standards for new cars, which are targeted to reach 27.5 miles per gallon in 1985. However, the projections failed to account for increasing sales of light trucks and vans, which have been rising at annual rates over 10 percent. These vehicles are excluded from some safety, pollution and mileage standards, and thus push down average miles-per-gallon figures for the total vehicle population. Cars now account for about 70 percent of total gasoline demand, and small trucks and vans the remainder, with the proportion of trucks increasing significantly. As a result of the rapidly growing truck population, the demand for gasoline will not peak until sometime in the early to mid 1980s.

Another complicating factor in the rising demand for gasoline is the need for unleaded fuel to meet air pollution standards. Unleaded fuels require increased amounts of specialized "downstream" refinery capacity to improve the quality of refined products. Refiners have been unwilling to make capital improvements at the required rates, in part because they expect gasoline demand to level off in the next five years, and in part because they have been awaiting the decontrol of gasoline prices. Meanwhile, an interim supply problem exists.

Energy could be conserved by less auto driving. But to get consumers to drive less requires alternative forms of transportation. In most cities, the available mass transit systems can absorb very little additional ridership. It will take several years to increase their capacity, and much longer in some instances.

One short-term alternative is "gasohol" production, which Midwestern farmers have been pushing for years. Gasohol is a mixture of ethanol (currently 10 percent in the U.S.) made from grain or sugar crops with unleaded gasoline. Ethanol can boost gasoline octane ratings without the use of lead, and can thus relieve the need to upgrade some of the U.S. oil refining capacity.

Other merits are that small-scale, on-farm ethanol plants can be constructed in a matter of weeks (instead of years, as with oil refineries); the agricultural crop surplus will be reduced; billions of dollars in USDA subsidies can be eliminated on set-aside acres; motor fuel supply

will be expanded as well as upgraded; balance of payments will be improved; and new competition will be provided for the liquid fuels market.

The shortfall in U.S. gasoline refining capacity expected by 1985 is about 20 percent. This entire gap could be met by that time with a 20 percent blend of ethanol with gasoline. Blends as high as 25 percent ethanol have already been successfully used in Brazil, the world's leader in gasohol development, and do not require engine alterations. Vehicles can run on straight ethanol, too, but for top performance, engine compression ratios should be increased to make maximum use of the 106 octane of ethanol, resulting in better mileage.

Conserve or switch?

The residential and commercial-industrial sectors each consume about 20 percent of our total oil supply (domestic plus imports). Consumption of oil by these sectors has been constant or slightly increasing in recent years. Oil is used primarily for heating and there is a significant potential for energy savings in both sectors.

Some studies have estimated that to 50 percent of the energy used in buildings (residential-commercial) could be saved through cost-effective conservation measures such as reduced ventilation, improved insulation and new or built furnace equipment. Most boilers and direct-fired burners where oil is used have been redesigned to lower fuel costs. Savings in the industrial sector will come instead from alternative fuels, such as coal and cogeneration of heat and electricity.

Natural gas supplies may increase rapidly in future years than oil, so it also is possible to substitute natural gas for oil, as has been done in some areas this past winter. Large deposits of natural gas lying in geopressurized zones in Louisiana and in tight formations in the West will soon be economical to exploit.

Solar energy can be economically competitive with decontrolled oil in many applications. Solar use could rapidly be accelerated with the help of appropriate government measures, as has been pointed out in Carter's recent Domestic Policy view, and other studies.

The final major oil-consuming industry is the electric utility industry. About 10 percent of all oil is used to generate electric power, which provides about 10 percent of all electricity generated.

How fast will demand for electricity increase in the near future? The answer to this question is largely a matter of choice. A large fraction of all heating is presently heated electrically, though cheaper supplies of natural gas are available in most areas. Industrial consumption of electricity is also expected to increase in many areas, even though industrial scale cogeneration is a more and cost-effective alternative.

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energy. If the use of utility electricity for these purposes were controlled it would be possible to limit electricity growth, and reduce the need for expensive oil-fired and base-load capacity.

The second factor affecting oil use in the electric utility sector is the doubt cast on nuclear power by the Three Mile Island accident. Today nuclear power produces about 13 percent of all electricity generated in the U.S. But utilities currently possess about 10 percent more generating capacity than is needed to insure reliability of power systems. Also, without the highly unreliable nukes, the recommended reserve capacity could be lowered significantly. Thus we could conceivably shut down most nuclear plants immediately, but it would require the use of more coal, natural gas and oil, which would increase operating costs.

Federal initiatives in photovoltaics and wind power could make these solar alternatives economically competitive for many applications within five to ten years. Homes and buildings currently heated electrically could use direct solar heating. Finally, homes and stores could save both money and energy by cogenerating heat and power.

What does Carter want?

Carter's energy strategy for the long run is founded on the concept of raising energy prices to their "replacement or true value." Carter intends to let all energy prices rise to at least the world price of oil; his long-run strategy thus relies on the U.S. oil industry to produce the new energy supplies needed to reduce U.S. reliance on imported oil.

The administration and Congress appear to believe there is very little that can be done about the energy crisis. Nuclear power, one of the principal bulwarks of the 1977 National Energy Plan, appears to be dead in the water in the wake of Three Mile Island. Thus Carter places increased emphasis in his new plan on coal conversion, shale oil recovery, increased oil production, and, belatedly, on contributions from solar sources. The new plan relies on staggering increases in energy prices, and transfers of wealth to the oil industry, to balance supply and demand.

Carter's original National Energy Plan in 1977 predicted the consumption of energy in the U.S. would rise by the equivalent of 9.4 mmbd by 1985. Allegedly encouraging conservation, that proved to be a mechanism for increasing coal and nuclear power production and for deregulating natural gas prices. His new energy plan is supposedly designed to increase energy supplies. Once again, it appears that his true objectives are quite different.

The production of crude oil in the U.S. has been steadily declining since 1971, with the exception of last year, when the Alaskan north slope came into production. Owners of wells expected price controls to be lifted at some point

in the near future, and they have been speculating that leaving oil in the ground would be more profitable than producing at controlled prices. They will probably continue to withhold oil for the next 28 months until decontrol is completed. The administration estimates that decontrol will reduce imports by an average of 0.3 mmbd in the next two years, including 0.225 mmbd of increased domestic production.

If this oil is produced (in spite of producer interest in leaving it in the ground) the cost of decontrol required to get this production will amount to at least \$17 billion over the two years, or slightly more than \$100 per barrel. By 1985 the Plan will have reduced imports by less than 1.1 mmbd. Decontrol will step up pumping from old wells that currently produce only \$5.80 per barrel, rather than providing a financial incentive for new exploration and drilling.

Because oil insiders realize that decontrol will stimulate production largely from existing wells, a windfall profits tax "plowback" amendment is picking up support in Congress. The basic idea is to exempt oil producers who reinvest surplus profits in new oil production activities from paying a like amount in windfall taxes. Much of this support stems from the fear that oil companies are presently cannibalizing other sectors of the economy by buying up existing companies. Some feel that it is in some sense equitable that money made from oil be reinvested in oil. Further oil production, investments, however, may be unwarranted on the basis of cost effectiveness; other energy investments, such as solar and ethanol, may well be more economical today.

Carter's new energy plan will provide for less than 12 percent of the increase in demand for energy in the U.S., between now and 1985. And it will guarantee a

huge transfer of wealth from oil consumers to the major oil companies in the U.S. The majors control the largest amount of old oil, and therefore stand to gain the most from decontrol. In addition, if the windfall profits tax passes, the government will set up a revolving door fund to return most of these taxes to the same major oil companies with a potpourri of tax breaks for coal conversion, shale oil production and more fossil fuels research.

Is there an alternative?

Investment in other energy sources would provide alternatives to what the President calls a paucity of workable energy options. But simply raising conventional energy prices will not substantially accelerate their development. A carefully sculpted mixture of loan guarantees, technology transfers, and government purchases of solar and conservation equipment will be required. But the potential benefits greatly exceed the 1.1 mmbd that the President hopes to coax from the oil industry and wrench from consumers.

For liquid fuels an alternative is a crash program to construct ethanol plants (in place of drastically increased oil prices) that use agricultural crops and byproducts as feedstocks. The forms of government intervention that would do the most to promote ethanol are elimination of alcohol regulations designed for portable alcohol; immediate construction and testing of newly-designed small-scale ethanol pilot plants; and dissemination of information on alcohol plant operation through the agricultural extension service. A government-sponsored program for the training of distillery operators would alleviate a potential skilled labor shortage. Finally, rules that require gasoline refineries to produce low-octane unleaded base stock gasoline for blending with ethanol should be promulgated to prevent refiners from freezing out competition.

To promote solar energy it will be necessary to change the basic approach of the Carter administration. The Energy Security Fund, as proposed by Carter, would be used primarily to provide subsidies to businesses to encourage them to invest in alternative energy systems. But to promote direct solar energy the government must provide capital and knowledge to consumers, particularly the poor.

Energy policy will have to rely upon local initiative and consumer responsibility. It will become particularly important to recognize the connections between energy and related consumer economic issues such as housing, urban redevelopment and the need for new employment-expanding local industries.

In photovoltaics (which convert sunlight into electricity with no moving parts) and wind energy production, the technology is near to commercial feasibility. But lack of demand is restraining the development of large-scale production systems. Several studies conducted in 1977 by the Federal Energy Administration found that selected federal purchases of wind machines and photovoltaic cells would create low-cost industrial production capacity. These federal purchase plans involved relatively small investments (less than \$1 billion each), compared to the \$17 billion investment required for the first two years only of decontrol. The President has ignored these studies, and instead has opted for more research.

Consumers need information, access to capital and a supply of solar equipment at a reasonable price. Instead, the President wants to give capital and more research funds to the major oil companies. With consumer organization, with congressional inquiry, and with the public reaction to Three Mile Island, it may be possible to develop the socially responsible alternative to decontrol and the market strategy.

EDITORIAL

Carter's Declaration of Dependence

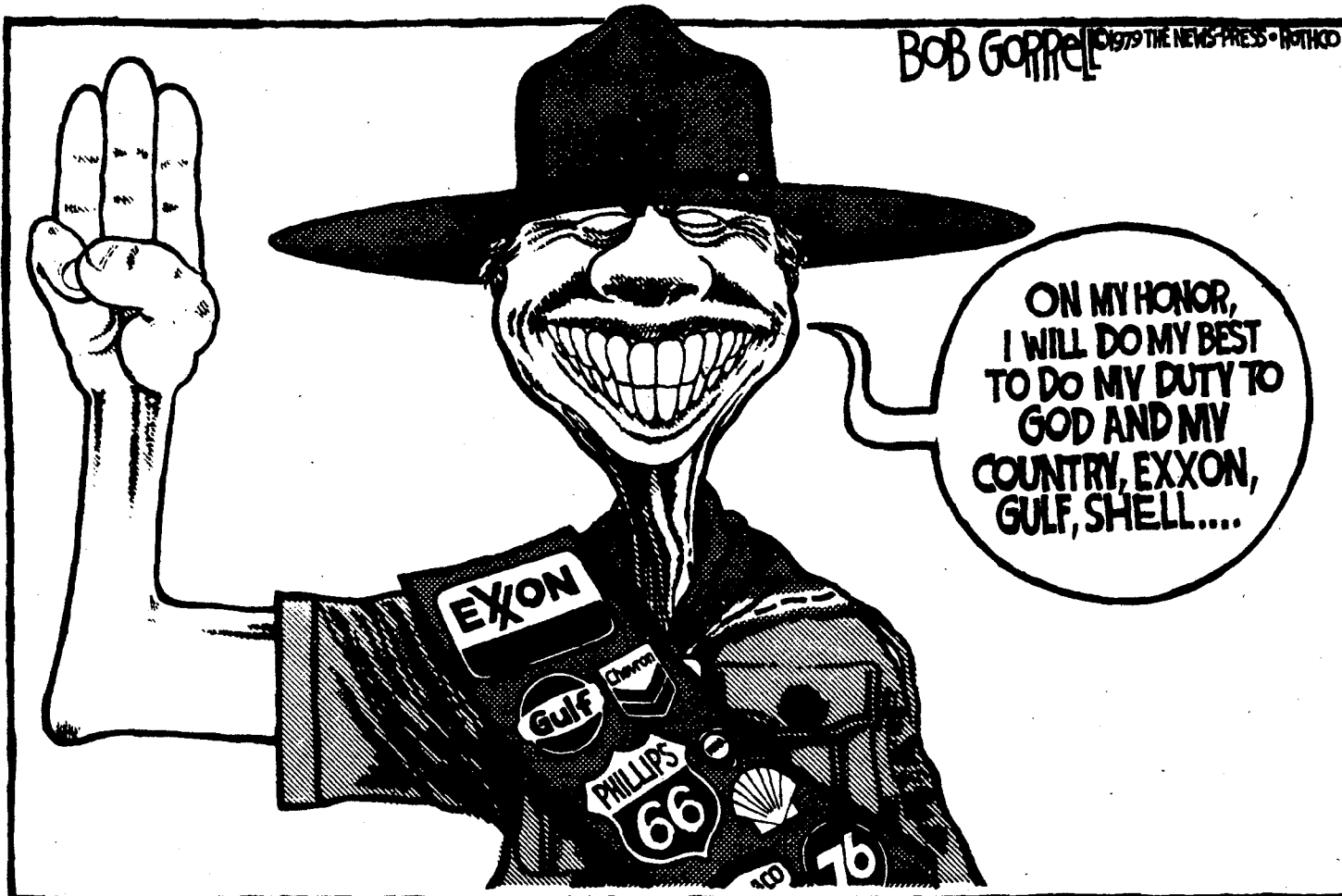
President Carter's April 5 national energy address may yet turn out to be as momentous a turning point in American history as the Vietnam war.

It took a southern Democratic president to vindicate those turn of the century New England Brahmins Henry Adams and William Graham Sumner whose pessimistic prophecies Americans have been as busy evading as they have those of Marx.

Adams irritated progressive upbeats with the reminder that not even America was an exception to the Law of Entropy, that America's love affair with capitalist progress through large-scale industrialization would only hasten the day of its running out of gas. Sumner warned that America's peculiar capitalist democracy—relatively free of bitter class conflict and oppressive class politics—could last only as long as resources were cheap and labor in great demand.

In declaring for high cost energy and a sluggish economy that along with automation must make labor increasingly "superfluous," Carter's decision to decontrol oil prices may well turn out to be the swan song of American liberal capitalism. Its implications go far beyond such immediate questions as a corporate profit grab, consumer hardship, and regressive taxation. They go to the obsolescence of capitalism as an efficient economic system, and to the survival of a formal democracy protected by abundance from intense class conflicts over the division of wealth.

To reduce oil imports and protect the international standing of the dollar, domestic energy production must be increased. If capitalists are to be persuaded to invest in more production, they must be granted an "incentive." The incentive is really a social ransom in the form of prices and hence profits "competitive" with those to be had from imported oil and other monopolistic ventures. In contrast with the olden days of capitalism when



If energy is becoming scarce, the least efficient way of getting it is to leave it to private profiteers.

competition meant lower prices and profits, in today's corporate capitalism, competition means letting the corporations get higher prices and profits as payment for their "delivering the goods." It means paying for the cost of capitalist ownership over and above real costs of produc-

tion and distribution. The result is artificially high energy "costs," ramifying through the entire economy in reduced consumer demand, idle capacity, and unemployed labor—in short, a premium on inefficiency. All this, for the sake of preserving private enterprise in energy.

The U.S. could have lower-priced oil, and investment in cheaper alternative energy sources, but not under the auspices of private investment. A public-owned energy system could buy oil from OPEC and other foreign sources, maintain and expand domestic production, and establish an average domestic price well below the OPEC price while still generating surplus revenues. It would thereby provide lower energy costs conducive to higher economic efficiency and full employment activity. It could reinvest the surplus in mass transit, railway redevelopment, conservation technique, and renewable energy sources—in the process weaning the U.S. away from the automobile culture, which accounts for nearly all U.S. oil imports.

If indeed, energy is becoming scarce, the least economically efficient and most socially dangerous way of producing and allocating it is through their control by private profit-seekers.

But Carter has chosen instead to continue to vest control of the nation's energy supply in the corporations. He has chosen more inflation and economic inefficiency over transgressing the sanctity of private enterprise. He has not decontrolled oil prices so much as he has transferred control to the corporations underwritten by government authority.

In his April 5 address, he said, "Energy prices are high and going higher, no matter what we do."

That is absolutely true—and brutally honest—as long as "no matter what we do" precludes public ownership of energy. In so many words, the president delivered America's Declaration of Dependence on corporate power. This is

the gospel according to the born-again Christian who worships at the shrine of private enterprise. We will have "free enterprise" even if not a "free country."

Carter's energy policy sustains the nation's addiction to the automobile and hence to oil, and to the dangers of nuclear energy, at prices that must weaken the economy, fuel chronic unemployment and deepen social inequality. It is a policy that fails two of Carter's own tests of soundness.

In his economic report to Congress last January, Carter said: "The corrosive effects of inflation eat away at the ties that bind us together as a people." But Carter's energy policy must accelerate the corrosion. The ties that bind him to corporate capitalism outweigh his concern for the ties that bind us together as a people.

He also said in the same report: "One of the major tasks of a democratic government is to maintain conditions in which its citizens have a sense of command over their own destiny." But Carter has put corporate command above what he recognizes to be a major task of democratic government.

The President deserves our gratitude in laying bare the corporate-liberal charade that has equated abundance with capitalism and the two together with pragmatic democracy. His April 5 address plainly demolishes that equation while demonstrating that pragmatic democracy (or practical economics) would have precious little to do with making his choices.

If Carter has given Adams and Sumner their last laugh over the fate of liberal capitalism, if the New World can no longer resist becoming like the Old, can Marx be far behind?

Warfare state taxes

On this page just over two years ago (March 9, 1977), we estimated that in real budget terms, military and war-related spending accounts for about 70 percent of federal tax revenues. "The huge amount of total revenues engorged by the corporate military contractors," we said, "has been obscured since the 1960s when social security transfer funds were lumped together with all tax revenues. This accounting sleight-of-hand makes the military portion of government spending seem less than it is."

The government continues its underestimating ruse, claiming that last year's defense budget of \$105.2 billion accounted for only 23 percent of the federal budget.

A new report released April 8 by Employment Research Associates of Lansing, Mich., the same group that in March had detailed urban dwellers' losses to Pentagon taxation (Editorial, April 3), substantially confirms our estimate.

The study shows that from 1960 to 1976, about 65 percent of the average American family's federal income taxes went for military-related expenditures.

The Lansing group points out that in calculating military spending as a proportion of current federal expenditures, social security and highway construction transfers should be excluded because they come from government trust funds, not directly from income tax revenues. With such exclusions and adding to the direct Pentagon budget such items as veterans'

benefits, most interest on the national debt, and portions of space and science outlays, and foreign military aid, the government's figures, as Lansing group director Marion Anderson says, "consistently understated the true cost of the military to the hard-pressed taxpayer."

The Lansing study reveals that the American family of four with an average income, filing jointly and claiming standard deductions, paid \$19,450 in federal taxes, 1960-1976, of which over \$12,000 represented "the Pentagon tax." Hence, 65 cents of every tax dollar paid by the average family of four in the 1960s and much of the 1970s were lost to military spending. Anderson says the same is true for each corporate tax dollar—which the consumer also pays through prices.

As we noted two years ago, the Pentagon's spending leaves the American people to scratch and claw over little more than 30 percent of federal tax revenues for urban aid, education, housing, health, etc. The federal budget deficits, skyrocketing federal debt, and their inflationary effect, are the result of three decades of military spending, not social programs.

Most of the howlers against "government spending" will always pipe down and support deficits rather than curb military spending. When they go after social spending, rather than the Pentagon, their target is not "deficits," but labor's standard of living.

Corrections

Research for Glenn Yago's story, "What's good for General Motors is good for General Motors," in the April 18 *ITT* was supported by a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.

Notice was omitted in the April 11 issue of permission granted by Ardis Publishers to reprint "Ordinance on the Competition," by Naomi Lazard. The poem was originally published in *Ordinances* (Ann Arbor: Ardis, 1978).

LETTERS

SWEET SMELLING ROSE

YOUR INTERVIEW WITH DON ROSE (ITT, Mar. 14) was impressive. It is probably the most insightful article about the meaning and promise of the stunning Jane Byrne victory published to date.

Don Rose is really impressive. His indefatigability and persistence put him in a class by himself in the local reform movement. He is not afraid to lose, to look "foolish," to joined forces with the Jane Byrne campaign last January when everyone else had written her cause off as hopeless.

His new ideological openness reflected in this interview is also impressive. He reveals a deeper and more compassionate understanding of the populist roots of the Chicago Democratic Organization than any other reformer I know. His understanding that for many thousands of working class people in Chicago, the Organization is not synonymous with evil and corruption. For many it is their hope, their desire of upward mobility, serving them just as prestigious universities and law firms have served affluent independents. For the first time, we have an important independent leader expressing some understanding that patronage and organization politics are not intrinsically evil.

The interview was marred by only one thing—a thoughtless slip at the Catholic Church, which I cannot overlook. The ugly implication is that the abuse of political power—priests preaching politics and endorsing candidates from the altar is standard Catholic practice, and that it is cause for rejoicing that it didn't happen in the recent campaign. As former director of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago and not infrequent critic of the Catholic hierarchy, I know that this indictment is pure baloney. Regrettably, it is still gospel in some liberal circles.

—John A. McDermott
Editor & Publisher
The Chicago Reporter

GLAD TO SEE IT

THANKS FOR THE PART. IN JESSE Helms country, it's good to keep in touch with the rest of the world.

I'd like to pitch in my opinion on the debate over coverage of the abortion-genocide debate in pages of recent ITTs. The arguments against letting the anti-choice people have their say sound to me like the arguments against talking about contraception in high school sex education classes. "It might give them ideas." I was glad to see the coverage. Without a chance to analyze these people's ideas as they present them, we lose power ourselves.

—Steven Newcomer
Chapel Hill, N.C.

"NOT YET," PROBABLY NEVER

THERE ARE THOSE OF US WHO, WHILE we largely share the perspective of the editors and readers of ITT, not only have "not yet" been won over to the cause of abortion on demand, but are unlikely ever to be won over—and not despite our concern for the well-being of society's disadvantaged, but because of that concern.

We distinguish between reproductive rights in general (information, counseling, birth control, freedom from rape or other forms of coercion) and abortion in particular. We believe that any woman should indeed be free to control and protect her own body, but that the time for such control is centuries before, not after a new life has been conceived. A policy that would accord the woman a "right" to abort her eight-month-old fetus would be a far cry from the woman's right to control her body, for no place in our set of values.

Cheers, at any rate, for your decision to permit discussion and debate on the topic to continue in your pages. The opposite decision would move in THESE TIMES in the direction of becoming another socialist organ with an overly rigid set of dogmas and a predictable editorial line on every imaginable subject—we don't need that right now.

—Patrick J. McGaever
Indianapolis, Ind.

PUBLIC HOSPITALS

LARRY SCHAFER'S LETTER (ITT, APR. 11) asserts that "continuing to maintain a string of poor hospitals assures low-income people poor care" and that "private hospitals simply cannot turn away patients if they cannot pay." This is false.

I work at Cook County Hospital (Chicago) and we receive patients from private hospitals all the time. In Washington's (D.C.) General Hospital, 90 percent of patients transferred from private hospitals have no health insurance. Furthermore, 25-30 patients during a 13-month period risked death during the transfer according to the D.C. hospitals medical director.

On March 23, Detroit citizens charged that "poor people will die in the streets" if the city turns over to the state (for use as a psychiatric facility) the only public hospital serving the poor.

Philadelphia General Hospital was closed because Rizzo caught the hospital and its community off-guard. (And the following year the city actually spent more money on hospital services than when PGH was open.) Here in Chicago there are continual threats to close Cook County Hospital. The workers, patients, and community have been effectively organized to counter attempts by private hospitals and their politicians to close our hospital. We are resolved to prevent in Chicago what happened in Philadelphia. We will not be caught off guard.

Does Schafer suggest that decent primary care can replace vital hospital services? Public hospitals are the *only* hospital services available to many poor people—because of discrimination by private hospitals. (And public hospitals provide a disproportionate share of outpatient services nationally.)

Yes, health activists need to formulate something more than defensive strategies. We must analyze the *full* complexity of medical care services. At the present, this involves preserving public hospitals and expanding primary and preventive medical services.

—Jim Schlosser
Chicago

WHY SPORTS & MUSIC

FIRST, WHY DO YOU COVER SPORTS? Let all the jocks read their daily newspaper or a sports magazine. This valuable space could be used for reporting something of intellectual value. Let Gunther, Goldstein and Rodney publish in *Sports Illustrated*. The same could be said for your articles on music. Why not poll your readers to get their views typed or not.

—James T. Odell
Clover, Va.

HANOI MOUTHPIECE

WILFRED BURCHETT'S RENDITION OF the Hanoi line should not go without comment. Burchett long ago sold his soul or his critical faculty to the Vietnamese leaders in exchange for the right to rub shoulders with them.

Unwary readers should know of Burchett's penchant for relating as gospel whatever he is told by friends in high places. When Burchett writes that Viet-

namese Education Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, rumored to be under arrest, is actually "in excellent form," readers should know that little more than a year ago he said the same of Prince Sihanouk. When Burchett writes glowingly of the Vietnamese regime and scoffs at reports of oppression and persecution, readers should know that in 1977 Burchett gave his stamp of approval to the Pol Pot regime, dismissing with a wave of the hand the very charges of criminal tyranny he himself now levels at the Khmer Rouge leaders.

Mindless cheerleading is all Burchett has to offer. That's the last thing we need now. For years, most radicals would brook no criticism of the NLF, the Khmer Rouge, or the Chinese. Now these three are at loggerheads; it should be clear that something went wrong somewhere.

But where did it go wrong? And what of U.S. ally China? What explains its right-wing turn? Why are 100,000 Vietnamese troops occupying Cambodian territory? These are the questions the left must address. To answer them requires questioning some of the fundamental premises of most leftists.

Your newspaper addresses the hard facts and implications of the current situation far too little. This can only leave the left unprepared for the not so unlikely future when the Vietnamese regime, like the Russians, Chinese and Cambodians before, turn to blatantly oppressive policies that even Burchett will have a hard time apologizing away.

—Jack Gerson
New York

WAVAW

I HAVE BEEN ASKED BY WAVAW TO comment on Bruce Dancis' "Dear Critics" piece, since my book, *Rock 'n' Roll Is Here To Pay*, is cited in the context of his opposition to the Warner boycott. I, too, have questions about the tactics of the boycott, but the tone of "Dear Critics" seems also to dismiss WAVAW itself and, by implication, the issue of violence against women, as frivolous. Nowhere does Dancis acknowledge the seriousness of the issue. Having recently attended a demonstration for six black women who were murdered in Boston, I feel the issue is serious.

WAVAW represents one of the first attempts to deal with the question of accountability for rock musicians. To focus solely on tactical mistakes they may be making is to miss that point. Historically, rock musicians have been regarded as revolutionary heroes by their audiences. They can be enormously powerful and most often they hold themselves accountable to no one. This is dangerous.

Dancis acknowledges the need to put pressure on corporations to make them more socially responsible, but opposes the WAVAW boycott because it "strikes at artists like Jackson Browne and Bonnie Raitt who have been long-time supporters of progressive causes." If so, why haven't we heard more from these artists about this cause? Dancis compares the boycott "to calling for a boycott of the ABC television network because *Charlie's Angels* is offensive." According to that logic, one would also oppose the current boycott of the Nestle Corporation. After all, only one of their many fine products is killing third world babies.

—Reebee Garofalo
Boston

THE EVERYWHERE DEMAND

IF IN THESE TIMES IS SOCIALIST, IT should repudiate genocide generally. There is no good genocide and bad genocide (destruction of people according to their ethnicity).

The socialist does not distinguish "our" good genocide and "their" bad genocide. This is what distinguishes the socialist from the fascist.

Therefore, the mass murder and robbery of European Jewry by fascism must not be forgotten and must never be forgiven.

Therefore, the mass murder and robbery of the Palestinian Arabs by terrorists like Menachem Begin must not be forgiven.

The only democratic socialist position is to demand a democratic, secular state. Everywhere.

If there is any socialism in the editorial policy of ITT, let it repudiate superstition: enough of jihad and fulfillment of biblical prophecy. Join all socialists in the demand for a democratic, secular state in Palestine-Israel, in America, at the UN.

IN THESE TIMES, in supporting the expulsion of Palestinians from Israel, supports a position the moral equivalent of the Volkischer Beobachter's in its support for the expulsion of Jews from Europe. Wake up. It is the wickedest capitalist lie that crime consists in not what is done, but to whom. Genocide is evil.

—John Gibson
Philadelphia

A LONG WAIT

I HAVE READ YOUR ADVERTISEMENT in *The Progressive* magazine. I would like to read a copy of IN THESE TIMES.

I became a socialist when I was 17 years old in western Oklahoma and was a subscriber to the *Appeal to Reason*, printed in eastern Kansas.

I have voted for all the Socialist Party candidates. I am now 92 years of age. I have fooled away most of the later years of my life waiting for someone I thought was progressive, mainly on the Democratic ticket.

I did vote for LaFollette, Henry Wallace, McGovern and, lastly, Carter, which has really made me sick. I am now trying to get back on the right track.

Please send me a sample copy of IN THESE TIMES and bill me for same.

—Sherman C. Thompson
Canon City, Colo.

A REAL CHANGE, FOR A CHANGE

I'M STILL SHAKING MY HEAD (AND shaking in my boots) at the uncanny timing of the Three Mile Island disaster, the release of *China Syndrome*, the Einstein centennial and controversy surrounding *The Progressive* H-bomb secrecy article.

But discussion of nuclear energy must include questions of national energy policy, the power of corporate energy interests and the effects of "shutting down" on all sectors or the political economy. As Harry Brill pointed out (ITT, Mar. 28), "bad times are good for big business, but bad for the American people." In other words, no matter how badly business would be affected by a nuclear energy shutdown, the American people would foot the bill.

I believe that shutting them down is the *only* sane course, but this must not be the left's only program. Now that the "no-nukes" movement has the potential of reaching large numbers of people and is seen as having a credible voice, it must include a call for a public takeover of utilities and their parents, the oil and energy industries. Aiding this call is the high level of public awareness of oil industry profiteering and frustration at sky-rocketing gas prices.

The time is right for change, let's make it a real change.

—Rick Brown
Oakland, Cal.

CORRECTION

In the review of *Norma Rae* (ITT, Mar. 28), because of a production error Sally Field was not acknowledged as the actress who played the role of Norma Rae.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Black Studies holds its ground in face of white counter-attack

AS BLACK STUDIES GRADUALLY emerged in the decade of the 1960s, it represented an expression of political dissent and cultural protest within the framework of the white American educational system. Our methodological approach toward understanding black history, literature, music and all aesthetics was the basis for rejecting white educational values, theories and standards. At its peak of popularity during these years, the basic Black Studies curriculum represented a much needed antidote to the traditional thought processes of white America. Racist America, having failed to liberate its own nascent humanity through its own educational institutions, was pronounced dead, intellectually and spiritually. Black Studies was, philosophically, the beginning of an alternative to the bankruptcy of white American education.

The political meaning of Black Studies,



apart from its educational value, was the critical element of its development. Like the Black Power movement of the 1960s and the subsequent reemergence of modern Pan-Africanism, Black Studies acquired a popular constituency among black students, a series of national spokespersons (like Lerone Bennett, Chancellor Williams, Vincent Harding, Harold Cruse), access to the major media through a number of scholarly journals (*Journal of Black Studies*, *Black Scholar*, *Black World*) and

regional conferences. A new generation of black history scholars followed the footsteps of W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson, establishing the foundations for a genuine black nationalist-oriented historiography. Black literary criticism moved beyond the intellectual impasse presented by the works of J. Saunders Redding into the exploration of a true black aesthetic.

What many of us failed to grasp early in the 1970s is becoming abundantly clear with the passage of time: that any struggle to advance the cause of Black Studies could progress and regress simultaneously at a number of levels.

Once Black Studies was viewed as a potentially subversive political expression that undermined white aesthetic and political hegemony, white society launched a counter-attack against its leaders (black writers, artists, intellectuals), its cadres (black college and high school professors and teachers) and its constituency (millions of black students). This white assault was, to a certain extent, planned and carried out from the very earliest stages of the Black Studies movement.

Semi-competent black instructors were sometimes selected deliberately over better qualified black applicants by white administrators in order to degrade the quality of Black Studies. With the onset of *Bakke*, white administrators could argue cogently that Black Studies faculties had to hire white professors and admit white graduate students to avoid the charge of "reverse discrimination." Often black faculty were hired by white universities at non-tenure track positions; when the faculty members resigned or were subsequently released, their former positions simply dissolved. The numbers of black students admitted to white universities declined as foundation grants and federal assistance for many minority

undergraduates were largely cut.

The white counter-attack was somewhat effective. After rising dramatically, the numbers of Black Studies departments in colleges peaked in the early '70s and began to decline through the decade. A number of gifted black faculty members who had risen to national prominence during the Black Studies phenomenon were silenced by a combination of fear, economic insolvency and a fervent desire for acceptance within the white academic hierarchy. Some black intellectuals such as Ishmael Reed and Harry Edwards were simply denied tenure on blatantly racist grounds. Others quietly accommodated themselves to the neo-conservative winds of change and tactfully altered their stances on academic and secular issues.

On the whole, however, Black Studies has not only survived, but is even progressing. The literary, historiographic and theoretical achievements of the new generation of black scholar-activists still remains and thrives. The body of literature on Black Studies continues to grow and develop. Hundreds of thousands of black youth have been influenced by a new approach to life and letters, and will in turn reach out to others beyond the university, into the black community.

Some Black Studies faculty members, such as HEW's Mary Berry, have advanced into political positions, which has a structural influence upon the general direction of American education. This achievement of black educational excellence and black thought has found a permanent place within the theoretical and practical development of contemporary black educational institutions. ■

(Part II next week: *Integration vs. Equality*)
Manning Marable is professor of history at the University of San Francisco. He is an editor of *Socialist Review*.

BOOKS

Hard facts, hard knocks lie at the end of Zuckerman's rainbow

By Martin Green

FROM APES TO WARLORDS

Solly Zuckerman, Harper & Row, \$20.95

SOLLY ZUCKERMAN HAS moved from Apes to Warlords in the course of his career, in the sense that he began by studying baboons in their native habitat in South Africa and ended by being

scientific adviser to Air Marshal Lord Tedder, and other leaders of the British forces in World War II. But the title of this autobiography, of course, also carries some implication that the development of mankind in general has been from apes to warlords. Lord Zuckerman makes nothing of that second meaning, which hovers uncertainly around the first in the reader's mind, appropriate but perhaps unintended. In this way the title is representative of the book as a whole, which means a good deal more than it says, but leaves the reader unsure how much the writer intended of that extra meaning.

The first third of the book is better written than the rest of it. More reflective and self-revealing, it deals with the more self-forming period of Zuckerman's life, up to the outbreak of war, when he was 35; after which he was soon absorbed into the world of command, the corridors of military power. This latter phase of his experience is more important, in theory more interesting, and certainly different from the contents of most autobiograph-



ies I've read, but the events are recorded in too much detail, in a too diary-like style, so that they are hard to grasp. They are "Materials for a Biography," to invoke a Russian scholarly genre.

In that first part, where one can recognize a tone and a shape to Zuckerman's narrative, it is what one might call Voltairian, or Wellsian. Great value is implicitly attached to clarity and energy of mind, to encyclopedic knowledge and productivity, to impudence in the face of ordinary authority, and to an impatient irony about the feelings of that outer world of less clever people.

One can be quite shocked by the brisk way Zuckerman disposes verbally of his father (a failure), his mother (a taskmaster), his sister ("I had nothing to say to her") and so on. At age 22 he left his family, as he left South Africa, and he seems never to have looked back.

From then on he mixed only with the

brilliant; and in fact his pages are crowded with famous names, in the arts as well as the sciences (Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore, the sculptors) and American as well as English (E.E. Cummings and John O'Hara). It is clear that Zuckerman must have been an attractive young man, with more variety of intelligence than he displays here; and indeed with more emotional depth than he allows to appear, except inadvertently.

Arriving in London in 1926, he joined that generation of young men rebelling against their cultural fathers (who had sent so many young Englishmen to death between 1914 and 1918). He knew socially, for instance, the writers of Bloomsbury, and Aldous Huxley, and Evelyn Waugh. But naturally his main acquaintance was with the scientists of that generation, and he was a notable organizer of the social life of some of them.

In 1930 he founded a dining club called the Tots and Quots, that was revived in 1939, and that played an important part in bringing scientists together with the government and so with the military in the war effort. The use of scientific analysis and planning at all stages of a military operation was known as Operations Research, and Zuckerman was both one of its originators and later one of its most highly placed practitioners—ending up as Chief Scientific Adviser to the Government.

It was he who, together with J.D. Bernal, did most of the work on the 1940 Penguin Special, *Science in War*, which was in origin a record of a discussion at a meeting of the Tots and Quots, and in effect a powerful influence on government policy.

Bernal was a very important figure in 20th century British science; a great influence upon C.P. Snow, and indirectly upon the science policies of the Labour Party, and generally a charismatic figure. He appears frequently, but puzzlingly, in these pages. Bernal was a devoted member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and all his serious moral feelings were political. Zuckerman was a close colleague of his, apparently a close friend, but he reveals no political passions at all. Perhaps the two were linked only by that

Voltairean impudence, that general youthful radicalism, which developed in both into a technocratic enthusiasm.

The immediate impact of this book, its author's immediate personality, is agreeable enough, but in larger perspective it must be judged sinister. Analytical intelligence, and even specifically scientific intelligence, have often been applied to war. But science is now immensely more powerful than it was, and Zuckerman presided over the application of those powers to mass murder. Perhaps I can indicate the nature of his contribution by relating his work to the subject matter of *Catch-22* or *Gravity's Rainbow*.

Zuckerman's first military research was into the killing effect of bombs, and from that he passed to designing bombing strategies, especially in Italy. He helped design the assault on Pantelleria, and later that on Sicily. He describes in his half-gossipy, half-memoir prose exactly what Joseph Heller describes in *Catch-22*, except that Zuckerman's is the planner's point of view. It was also his work to chart the different patterns of bombing and their effects, to study battlefields as soon as they were vacated, and to explore the moves of his counterparts in Germany. This is the world of experience Thomas Pynchon describes in *Gravity's Rainbow*, except again that Zuckerman's point of view is the reverse of the novelist's.

One can object to a hysteria in both Heller's and Pynchon's treatment of modern war. But when one reads Zuckerman's cheery briskness on the subject, one objects much more. What is finally most sinister about this autobiography is its lack of any Voltairian irony about the warlords' end of its spectrum.

The world has treated Zuckerman too well—has stuffed his mouth with bonbons. It is typical of him that he is scornful of ecology and the soft science of Konrad Lorenz. He belongs to the world of hard science, hard facts, hard knocks. It will be one of his knocks that will finish us all off one of these days. ■

Martin Green teaches literature at Tufts University and is author of *The von Richthofen Sisters*.

IN DEPTH

Nuclear economics: a more dismal science

By Harry Brill

BUSINESS IS BUSINESS. WHILE MANY OF THE TWO MILLION residents within a 50 mile radius of the Three Mile Island nuclear accident are naturally worried about its impact on their longevity, Metropolitan Edison, the company that operates the nuclear power station, is interested only in how it will affect its costs and profits. Utility customers are already being told they will have to absorb some of the costs of cleaning up the plant, involving millions of dollars. And if anyone believes that the utility has any regrets about the human hardships the accident is causing, they should know that pregnant women workers who left the area during the accident were informed by Metropolitan Edison that they would have to count their time off as vacation pay.

Especially important for understanding the public's damaged economics of the privately owned utility industry, the president of Metropolitan Edison dismissed the accident as "insignificant" and "inimicable." The utility has been concerned that it might be forced permanently to retire the reactor, which would appreciably reduce its profits.

It is not just the loss of winding off an expensive power generator. The private utilities' profits are determined by applying a percentage to their rate base, which is mainly the dollar value of their capital investment. The more expensive the equipment, the higher the potential profits. If the nuclear reactor on Three Mile Island is put to rest, it would be subtracted from the utility's rate base, which would in turn reduce the utility's revenues.

Nuclear reactors as a profit maximizer offer certain advantages. First, they are much more expensive than other power generators, costing now over a billion dollars each. Second, the first takes up a smaller proportion of total costs than they do for other energy sources. This is important because since fuel cannot be included in the rate base, customers can only be charged for what it costs the utilities. Even though an alternative energy system might in the aggregate be as expensive as nuclear power, if its fuel costs are higher and its capital equipment lower, it would yield smaller profits. The profit formula clearly creates a bias toward nuclear reactors.

Generally speaking, utilities' gains are customers' losses. Even though the Three Mile Island plant will not be operating again for at least two years, it will remain in the rate base, unless there is sufficient protest. Although only equipment in good condition and in operation is supposed to be included in determining profits, neither utilities nor regulatory commissions pay any attention to this requirement. Because nuclear reactors have serious imperfections, they are idle for at least 40 percent of the year. Yet utility customers pay for the facilities all year round.

Moreover, customers are billed additionally for the costs of receiving alternative energy supplies. Metropolitan Edison is now buying electricity from other companies at a cost of from \$600,000 to \$1 million per day. To pay for it, MetEd is asking for rate hikes that would amount to an average 20 percent increase in customers' electric bills. Although such extraordinary costs are the direct result of the malfunctioning of nuclear reactors, they are represented inaccurately as the costs of non-nuclear energy. This contrived comparison appreciably understates the real costs of nuclear power.

In fact, were the costs of government subsidies to the nuclear power industry transferred from the taxpayers to consumers, electricity bills from nuclear sources would climb another 25 percent. Among the subsidies, the government even provides the nuclear utilities with millions of dollars of insurance coverage in case of accidents, which represents a transfer of income from the public to the companies. Altogether, subsidies to the nuclear power industry already exceed \$6 billion.

Yet the economics of nuclear power is such that even when the public saves, it loses. The Price-Anderson Act limits the liability of a nuclear accident to a maximum of \$560 million. Had much higher limits been established, most, if not all, of the additional premiums would have been passed on to utility customers. The drawback of the \$560 million liability limit is that victims of serious accidents could receive less than a penny for every dollar of damage incurred. There is no man-made risk more dangerous with the degree of economic protection so minimal.

The public would save considerable money if nuclear power plants were built more quickly. They average about 12 to 14 years to complete. Each year's delay adds on another \$100 to \$120 million in costs, which is a major irritant to the nuclear power industry. Although the postponements are partly reflected in higher construction costs, the main reason for the rapidly escalating costs are the changes in safety design that are mandated, however reluctantly, to appease opponents.

Last year, President Carter recommended to Congress, unsuccessfully, a bill that would have reduced the time it takes to build a nuclear power plant to 6.5 years. Although publicized as an efficiency measure, the bill's provisions would appreciably curtail the extent and scope of the objections that opponents could legally raise. In other words, the legislation seeks to protect the industry by trampling on due process and minimizing concern for safety. In the aftermath of the Three Mile Island disaster, Carter is again pressing for the bill's approval. As the nuclear reactors that are currently manufactured contain serious safety hazards, imagine how much greater their jeopardy to the population by cutting their completion time in half.

The prime movers behind the bill have been the manufacturers of nuclear reactors, who have been troubled by lackluster business. General Electric and Westinghouse, who manufacture most of the reactors, are naturally interested in increasing their sales. Also, GE, which now owns uranium mines, needs a market for reactors to feed its nuclear fuel to. GE is a member of the uranium cartel that has artificially forced up prices from \$6 to over \$50 per pound. No longer a cheap

fuel, and mined mostly by the oil and gas companies, uranium has become highly profitable business.

Utilities in recent years have been cancelling many orders for nuclear reactors. Indeed, some had even seemed serious about preaching conservation, prompting GE, also a major manufacturer of lighting, to conduct a heavy, rather vulgar campaign against conservation efforts.

Because the consumption of electric power has been growing more slowly since the recession of 1974-75, many utilities have been unable to raise capital for expansion. The utilities have also been cancelling orders for non-nuclear power generating systems. Public utility commissions have become much more amenable to granting rate increases to restore sagging profits. The federal government and the states have been passing legislation forcing captive utility customers to become captive investors through rising rates.

Some states, for example, are allowing utilities to include expensive power plants in the rate base while they are being built. The IRS tax code now permits federal taxes collected from utility customers to be invested in expansion rather than remitted to the federal government. This money is being used to construct nuclear power plants.

Utilities have about a third more capacity for generating electric power than currently utilized in peak periods. Yet their appetite for growth remains voracious. The Edison Electric Institute, the utility's trade association, has been reiterating its commitment to nuclear power. And despite cancellations, more than 90 plants have obtained their construction permits, 28 proposed plants have their designs under review by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and six others are now on the drawing boards.

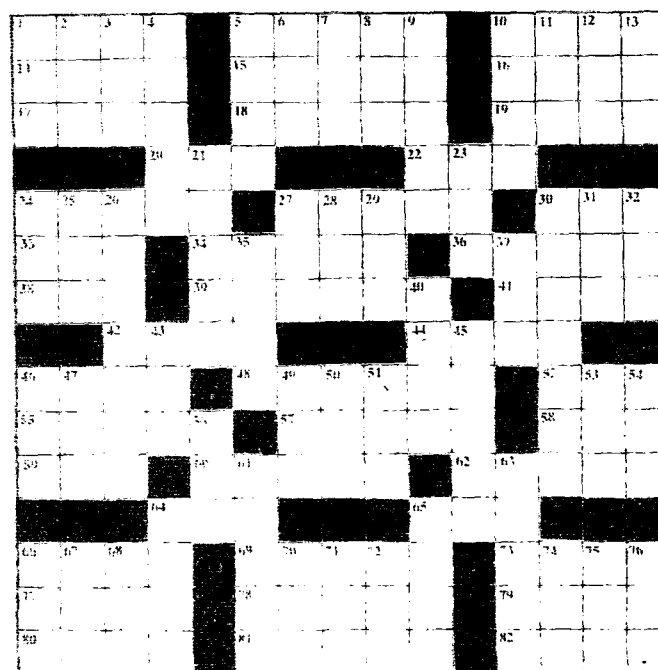
The utilities' interest in nuclear power is tied to their expansionist aims. Since it

takes a long while to build electric generating power plants, utilities are long-range planners. They are dedicated to an electrical future for all of us, one in which electric power will play an ever greater role in people's lives. To achieve their ambitions requires remaining well ahead of current consumption levels. Utilities spend huge amounts of money, far more than for promoting conservation, to persuade people to brighten their homes and purchase appliances. Most utilities even maintain departments that specialize in luring businesses into their electrical jurisdiction. The competition of utilities on this score is feverish.

Just as important, they need rapid growth to battle against the peril of decentralized generating power. Decentralized systems can be less expensive, which has been prompting many firms to supply their own electricity. Business also needs to be assured of uninterrupted power, and brownouts and blackouts caused by excessive demand could accelerate the tendency toward decentralization.

Nuclear as well as coal power stations represent highly centralized energy systems. They meet the needs of a utility industry that is attempting to maintain its virtual monopoly over the production and distribution of electric power. Utility ownership and operation could be decentralized, which would actually be more efficient, but only at the risk of opening the competitive floodgates.

In its private-ownership and highly concentrated form, the electric utility industry is predicated on waste and excess capacity; it needs rampant growth to survive economically. A 1,000-megawatt nuclear reactor may electrify a community but at the risk of degrading human life. It seems, in fact, the nuclear power industry has declared a nuclear war against the American people. It can only be stopped by dismantling the entire nuclear power program. ■



Peace in Our Time?

By David Mermelstein

ACROSS

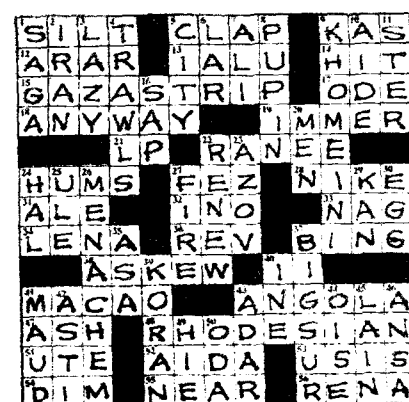
- 1 Port _____
- 5 Co-Nobel, with 26 Down
- 10 Critical _____
- 14 _____ Karennia
- 15 Odor
- 16 New York canal
- 17 Refuse
- 18 One of two parties to treaty
- 19 _____ boy
- 20 Tune
- 22 Swiss river
- 24 Church songs
- 27 "I _____ return"
- 30 Buddhist sect
- 33 Shoe size
- 34 Woodwinds
- 36 Eminence _____
- 38 McGovern did this, in '72
- 39 Former leader of 18 Across
- 41 Jot
- 42 Sain brother
- 44 Black
- 46 Tennis star
- 48 See 18 Across
- 52 Org. Wobblies belonged to
- 55 Goodnight woman of song
- 57 Greeting
- 58 _____-disant
- 59 Member of the family
- 60 Greek letter
- 62 Part of NOW
- 64 Specialty of 46 Across
- 65 Scout org.
- 66 Equal
- 69 See 81 Across
- 73 Soviet-American talks
- 77 Separate article
- 78 Type of association
- 79 Opponent of 46 Across (1st name)
- 80 Put trust in (with on or upon)
- 81 Co-Nobel, with 69 Across
- 82 Earthy deposit

DOWN

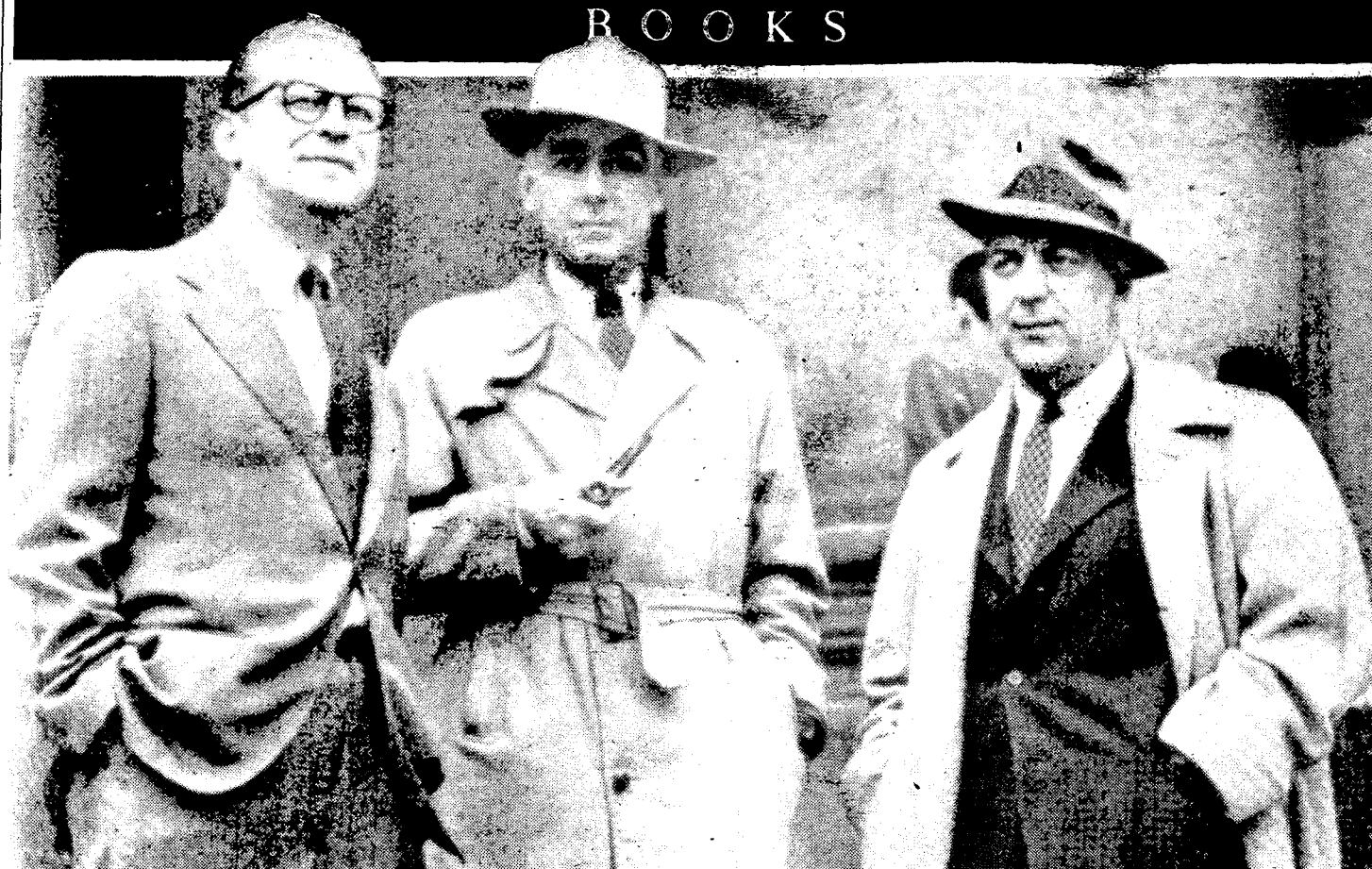
- 1 Morose
- 2 French donkey
- 3 Hotel
- 4 Patch wearer
- 5 Boxer Max
- 6 Unit of work

- 7 81 Across to 5 Across
- 8 Little devil
- 9 Pertaining to birth
- 10 Deceased leader of 48 Across
- 11 "_____ in heaven"
- 12 See 59 Across
- 13 Bering or Beaufort
- 21 Five from six _____
- 23 Cousin to trig.
- 24 "_____ Easter bonnet..."
- 25 Affirmative vote
- 26 See 5 Across
- 27 Distress letters
- 28 "For _____ a jolly..."
- 29 Peer Gynt's mother
- 30 Ideology of 5 Across
- 31 Erhard's org.
- 32 Ed. org.
- 35 Pacific island
- 37 Brazilian city for short
- 40 Rod's companion
- 43 _____ Gurney
- 45 Is windy
- 46 After ready before fire
- 47 Theater sign
- 49 Feminine pronoun
- 50 On pension; abstr.
- 51 _____ carte
- 53 Misery
- 54 Ford's button
- 56 And so on
- 61 Warm food, with up
- 63 Fertile desert area
- 64 Service branch
- 65 Author _____ Harte
- 66 Islamic religious instructor
- 67 Summer in Nante
- 68 Elongated fish
- 70 New Deal letters
- 71 Bank roll
- 72 Liberal org.
- 74 The Greatest
- 75 _____ Ahner
- 76 Vietnam offensive of '68

Solution to last week's puzzle:



BOOKS



James Aronson, Cedric Belfrage, John T. McManus (left to right) leave Foley Square Courthouse.

Perils of a left paper in U.S.

SOMETHING TO GUARD: The Stormy Life of the *National Guardian*, 1948-67
By Cedric Belfrage and James Aronson
Columbia University Press, New York, 1978, \$19.95

By Michael Munk

Last year the *Guardian*, a weekly newspaper published in New York, celebrated its 30th anniversary with a 65-page issue that proudly traced its roots to the Progressive party campaign of 1948. Now the "Independent Radical Newsweekly," it recalled, from its current "Marxist-Leninist" perspective, "the high standards, relative mass appeal, independence and hatred of exploitation, oppression and injustice that characterized the *Guardian*'s first 19 years." Editor Jack Smith expressed "gratitude" to James Aronson, Cedric Belfrage and Jack McManus who founded the paper as the *National Guardian*, "the Progressive Newsweekly."

The two founders (McManus died in 1961) offer us their reflections and reminiscences of those 19 years. Written in the style of their paper, the book is a mixture of political history, nostalgia, and personal anecdotes infused with a fierce pride in their success in keeping the *Guardian* afloat in defiance of the Cold War and McCarthyism.

Having survived the death of the Progressive Party and the subsequent isolation of their constituency (which included the deportation of British-born Belfrage in 1955), they lost their paper in the heady days of 1967 under pressure from the same editor who now celebrates historical continuity with them.

Something to Guard, Belfrage and Aronson tell us, was written especially to reduce the "ignorance" of young people about radical history. It will not be easy going. The authors' justifiable pride in their dedication to the struggle frequently emerges as self-justification. And their highly individualistic format (one author bylines a chapter; the other comments on it) too often ignores chronology and historical perspectives. But the history of the *Guardian* holds lessons of value for today's socialist press.

What was the *Guardian*? First, it was to be a popular newspaper produced by professional journalists whose deepest commitment was to their "trade." They longed for "journalism run by journalists": an "honest" paper free of the "pot-bellied millionaire who reduced our staff to glorified prostitution." Belfrage and Aronson's identification with the "working press" is expressed with special poignancy in their bitterness at the capitalist media that ignored the *Guardian* "despite our taunts, challenges and provocations."

Their successors, by contrast, describe themselves as "movement people acting as journalists."

Together with a weakness for the slotman's eyeshade and the smell of printer's ink went an undisguised distrust of "intellectuals," from whom Belfrage and Aronson "expected little and got less." The paper they built reflected these related attitudes in its original punchy style, a kind of folksy appeal to the small town and rural reader of whom they were especially proud. The paper's journalistic identity would flow from "brevity" of both words and articles and an appreciation of humor, cartoons, snappy letters and a respect for grass roots religion, rather than "polemics," political clichés and rarified sectarianism of urban left intellectuals.

Belfrage clings to a common European belief in a "certain purity" of America "which it was (and is) fashionable to mock," although he muses about whether the *Guardian*'s drive to reach the grass roots didn't stimulate some "romantic feelings." But certainly one of the paper's strengths was its sense of itself as defending native American virtues of irreverence toward authority and confidence in the working class. It saw itself carrying on the traditions of the pre-World War I era popular socialist press—even its nameplate was chosen in conscious homage to Oscar Ameringer's *American Guardian* published from Oklahoma City.

There are, however, some troubling questions about how the *Guardian* chose to present itself politically. Belfrage and Aronson tell us they found their "political home" in the Henry Wallace Progressive Party, but they continued to believe that the Communist Party was the "core" or "center of gravity" of the American left.

Belfrage cheerfully declares that "'fellow-traveling' suited us better" than any deeper commitment to the CP, and the book details numerous instances of strained relations between the *Guardian* and both the Progressive and Communist parties. Again, the authors emerge as newspapermen somewhat uncomfortable with the demands and limitations imposed by organized politics.

But the *Guardian*'s political principles enthusiastically embraced the effort of the left generation of the '30s to recapture the atmosphere of the New Deal and the wartime alliance with Soviet Union. Cold war reaction was "usurping" the progressive traditions of Franklin D. Roosevelt and together with those of Paine, Jefferson and Lincoln, there was the "something" the paper was trying to "guard." This, of course, was the platform of the Progressive Party and the

public line of its "core"—the CP.

If the authors' political objectives could be achieved through a reincarnation of FDR (in whom Belfrage continues to express confidence), the *Guardian*'s overt politics would make sense. The problem is that they were socialists and their hidden agenda (and the CP's) was socialism. As they put it, their strategy was to "lead" their readers "by subversively rational steps to where we were." At its height before the Korean war, the *Guardian*'s circulation reached 75,000—far short of the hundreds of thousands projected within the grass roots New Deal constituency and less than the CP's Sunday *Worker* had between 1938 and 1945.

So there was an inherent contradiction between the audience the *Guardian* was edited to reach and its actual readers, almost all of whom were socialists already committed to the paper's "hidden agenda." As circulation fell sharply in the '50s, early illusions about the breadth of the *Guardian*'s constituency became even more difficult to maintain. One of the consequences of the authors' political choices was that while they maintained their independence of the CP on domestic issues, and continued to support independent political action after the CP shifted back to the Democratic Party in 1952, they identified socialism with the Soviet model. The USSR, not a native American socialist vision, was the one presented to its constituency.

Belfrage calls the East European purge trials "the severest test of nonaligned socialists." The editors confess their "bewilderment" at the news of the trials and suggest they would have preferred to avoid taking a position because they lacked "hard information" about their substance and meaning. But they reported them uncritically on the principle that it was necessary to keep "our eye on the main enemy" and have "no enemies on the left"—i.e., the CP. The outcome was to reinforce the popular association of socialism with the Soviet experience, and to identify the American left entirely with the Communist Party.

The authors ask their younger readers to reconstruct the temper of the times before deciding how well they represented their readers' interests. They argue that only the enemies of socialism condemned the purge trials at the time. But they also declare that for "an American radical newspaper" not to be critical of mistakes made in the name of socialism "is to betray the principles of revolutionary freedom."

Yet Belfrage writes that in 1952 he felt "compelled to suppress a moral conviction" about the trials because "we'd do more harm than good to what we most

deeply believe in by expressing it.... We would separate ourselves from the movement in this country, small and weak as it may be."

Aronson adds that in 1959, he decided against declaring his deep concern for the fate of a leftist Korean couple who were not heard from after their return to North Korea. "In a media world salivating for such material," he says, "we weighed the harm we might do in the absence of any facts."

By the early '60s, the defensive posture of the *Guardian* was challenged by the resurgence of political action in the civil rights and anti-war movements. Although as early as 1958, an editorial had welcomed "socialism coming our way," Aronson was not persuaded to announce that the paper's traditional reliance on the ideology of the New Deal was "inadequate" until 1965.

Although he linked the *Guardian* with the New Left in a "struggle for a radical alternative" and sought a new role for the paper as a "bridge" between the generations on the left, readership failed to climb—but frustration and conflict among the staff did. Aronson attributes the disputes over the failure to expand circulation to a false assumption among some staff that the *Guardian* needed a "drastic renovation" of its founders' model and to competition from the growing "underground press."

The New Left, Aronson says with some justification, was "rejecting the history of radicalism in its own country," and those who sought to include it in the *Guardian*'s constituency were either misguided or simply wanted to "take power."

Perhaps. But the agents of history take unlikely forms. Whether the stagnation of the paper was due to ideological confusion, inadequate news priorities, an outmoded format and writing style, or simply weariness of struggle, the old *Guardian* "family" failed to hold together in the conditions of the 1960s. Surely the personal, political and generational conflicts within the *Guardian* staff mirrored the profound changes on the left, which is why Aronson, with Belfrage's agreement, resigned in 1967.

What can we learn from the history of the *Guardian*? It seems that if a socialist paper is to succeed without the support of a political party, it must either make itself indispensable reading as a journalistic enterprise or required reading on the left as an interpreter of events. The *Guardian* never sought the second role, but it succeeded in the first during the grim '50s, when it served as a "bulletin board" or "lifeline" for a left in retreat. Its dogged insistence that it was defending native American traditions enabled it to mobilize thousands against racist frame-ups, McCarthyite intimidation and, above all, for the campaigns to save the Rosenbergs and keep alive the spirit of independent political action.

On such issues, the *Guardian* earned respect. The founders, in discussing them, give the impression of being on their "home grounds," of confidence in their ability to translate their convictions into editorial decisions. But they failed to translate the experience of foreign socialists, as they put it, "in terms applicable to American conditions." The reef on which they foundered was a belief that following their own instincts that crimes were being committed in the name of socialism was the equivalent red-baiting. Perhaps to have considered another alternative, such as that developed in their own time by the *Monthly Review*, would have required fewer journalistic skills but some of those with which their mistrusted "intellectuals" are said to be equipped.

Belfrage and Aronson ask us to learn from history; to understand the context of their decisions. But those who aspire to "lead" their readers might be expected not to accept this as a limitation but to search beyond it. One lesson *Something to Guard* teaches us is the the deepest convictions of honest socialists are better guidelines than political calculations made solely under the pressure of the present.

Michael Munk teaches at Roosevelt University in Chicago and was a member of the *Guardian*'s editorial staff from 1963 to 1966.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

LABOR EDUCATION

Teaching pride and power

By Steve Fisher

WHEN THE UNITED MINE Workers could not finish publishing a book of mineworkers' stories, called *In Our Blood* (see review, this page), people at Highlander Center in Tennessee picked up the task.

Book publishing is just one of the many labor education-related projects that Highlander takes on. And it's just one example of the Highlander philosophy that working people's experiences and knowledge must be shared and taught to build a grass-roots movement.

Began by Myles Horton in 1932 as a community school in the mountains near Chattanooga, Tenn., Highlander soon became devoted to the labor union movement—serving as a center for training rank-and-file local leaders and shop stewards in Southern unions, publishing union newspapers, and helping to organize farmer unions in the South.

Throughout most of its history, Highlander has faced red-baiting and racist attacks, arson, arrests and seizures. Investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee and prosecution



by the state of Tennessee in 1959 led to the revocation of Highlander's charter and the confiscation of its property.

In the '50s and '60s the school ran programs for black grassroots civil rights leaders. Today, located on a 104-acre farm near New Market, Tenn., Highlander's focus has shifted to community organizing in the Appalachian mountains.

The small Highlander staff, under the leadership of Mike Clark, sees the Center as having two major functions: it is a meeting place and a resource place where information about Appalachia's exploiters is assembled, publicized and used.

The first function is carried out through workshops at the center. In 1977 and 1978, in 66 workshops and residential meetings, around 1,500 people discussed issues such as community-controlled health clinics, food coops, rural housing, mining and food disasters and strip mining. They have usually been mountain people who exchange ideas on first-hand experience.

At Highlander's Resource Center, John Gaventa and Juliet Merrifield help community and labor groups get information for effective democratic action. For example, in Southern Tennessee, Highlander research on the corporate record of a

giant coal company helped a group of farmers and other citizens stop development of the largest strip mine in Appalachia. And in West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia and Tennessee, Highlander staff has helped community groups discover who owns the land and coal in their area, and to challenge low taxes of vast coal company reserves.

Videotapes provoke discussion in workshops, and they are a way for groups to carry their message to others. In Stearns, Ky., for example, Highlander tapes of a police attack against striking miners have been used among the miners and by them to spread their story across the country.

Labor focus.

In Our Blood is only one example of Highlander's educational work on labor-related issues in Appalachia. Consider the following examples:

• In 1975 UMW officials asked Highlander to start an educational program to help community-controlled rural health clinics organized by union members. Highlander's program brought medical students and other health workers into the clinics; built a network of community clinics for mutual aid; developed alternative payment plans; and fostered discussion of preventive medicine.

• Highlander sponsored workshops and research, not only on Black Lung and Brown Lung, the diseases related to two of the region's major occupations (mining and textiles), but also on health threats associated with chemical, nuclear and furniture industries in Appalachia.

For example, in Kingsport, Tenn., Highlander staff worked on a report for a citizens' study group on environmental and occupational health problems related to the concentration of industries in

that city. This spring and summer Highlander presents open forums involving workers, health professionals and scientists in three Appalachian communities, on environmental and workplace health hazards.

• Several years ago the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union asked the Center to start a high school equivalency degree program for Textile Division members in the Knoxville, Tenn., area. Highlander's June Rostan recruits program participants at union meetings and in textile plants, and she also teaches about work-related problems.

• A new social history program with a labor emphasis is now underway at the Center, and a recent workshop on music and coal mining honored Sam Reece and Jim Garland, both veterans of labor battles in the Kentucky coalfields. This spring Highlander will host a meeting of Welsh rank-and-file coal miners with Appalachian miners.

Highlander looks toward a unified movement for change in the mountains. Some critics charge that the school's methods are too incremental and fragmented to create such a movement. Highlander's supporters, however, tend to agree with Frank Adams, whose *Unearthing the Seeds of Fire* is a history of the Highlander experience. Through Highlander's programs, says Adams, "many people have been encouraged to find beauty and pride in their own ways, to speak their own language without humiliation, and to learn of their own power to accomplish self-defined goals through social movements built from the bottom up."

Steve Fisher is associate professor of political science at Emory and Henry College and writes a column on Appalachian politics for *The Plow*.

Coalfield families tell their sides of the story

IN OUR BLOOD: Four Coal Mining Families

By Matt Witt, with photographs by Earl Dotter
New Market, TN: Highlander Research and Education Center (Rte. 3, Box 370)
1979, \$6.95

By Steve Fisher

News from coal communities seeps out only when an underground explosion kills miners or when a strike threatens our coal supply. As a result, the American miner has become the object of myth and misinformation. Many on the left see the miner as the victim of American capitalist exploitation; the recent rank-and-file revolt is taken as a sign of hope for the labor movement in the U.S. But at the same time, many view the average miner with suspicion, seeing him as a God-fearing, red-baiting, black-hating hillbilly.

In Our Blood provides a rare opportunity for four coal-mining families to tell their sides. The families demonstrate a variety of backgrounds and experiences rather than stereotypical unity. John Socoski, whose ancestors immigrated to the coalfields from Czechoslovakia in the 1890s, repairs equipment at a Rushton, Pa., mine, where miners have been allowed to experiment with self-management. Napoleon Martin Jr., a black miner, works in a coal preparation plant at the U.S. Steel operation in Gary, West Virginia. Elmer Lockhart sits at home each day, unable to work because he has black lung, a result of his years at the Amherst mine in Logan County, W. Va. Larry Spear strip mines for Peabody Coal on Navaho land in the Black Mesa.

Matt Witt's narrative smoothly weaves union history with current developments, such as the growing split between young

and old miners and the changing role of women in the coalfields. But these are the miners' own stories, and Earl Dotter's stark and intense black and white photographs of scenes at work and at home make *In Our Blood* significant.

Common dangers.

The four profiles highlight the regional, ethnic, and religious differences that exist among today's 200,000 miners. Yet, the book's major theme is that, in spite of these differences, American miners have much in common.

They share, of course, danger. Socoski, at the age of 41, has already lost the use of his right eye in a mine accident; Lockhart is slowly and painfully dying from black lung; Martin complains of the safety hazards he faces daily, while Spear describes the high death rates among the Navaho miners. Miners go to work with the knowledge that one of them is killed every other day, that one is injured every ten minutes, and that, if they survive these odds, they have a three-out-of-four chance of spending retirement suffering from black lung.

They share poor living conditions. Their schools, housing, and health care facilities are generally among the worst in the nation. Even if funds are available for houses and health clinics, it is virtually impossible to find sites on which to build them. In West Virginia, two-thirds of the privately-held land is owned or controlled by out-of-state corporations.

They share in a constant struggle against coal companies, the government, and, at times, their own union to improve the conditions under which they live and work. Socoski details how the company undercut the Rushton experiment. Martin explains how the union failed to respond to the needs of its black members and



now all UMW members have been victims of union infighting.

Elmer Lockhart and his wife Gladys don't have to be asked twice to tell their story—how company doctors refused to correctly diagnose his shortness of breath and coughing as black lung; how the family had to leave their home when he was fired and blacklisted from the mines for filing for state workers' compensation; how the union failed to support him during this time; and how he had to work in a Cleveland factory, until he collapsed from exhaustion, because he couldn't get federal black lung benefits. The Lockharts still can't quite believe that the company, union, and country Elmer served so well could have let him down so totally. "If I had known then what I know now," says Lockhart, "I would never have gone near a coal mine."

All proceeds from the sale of *In Our Blood* go to a special fund to support labor education in the coalfields. The book's title, however, seems to perpetuate one myth which needs to be dispelled with the others—that coal mining is "in the blood"

of the miners and that those who mine coal do so because they enjoy the danger, independence, and excitement.

It is true that sons frequently follow their fathers into the mines as did Socoski, Martin, and Lockhart. But all four of the miners interviewed make it quite clear that they were drawn to the mines because it was the best paying job in town, and, at times, the only job.

This is put into perspective by Larry Spear's Navaho wife, Pearl. Some of the Navaho strip miners, according to Pearl, go to medicine men who believe that the illnesses and accidents the miners suffer are caused by the gods in retaliation for the strip-mine destruction of the Black Mesa.

"Forgive this man," the medicine man will pray as he conducts a ceremony over the sick or injured miner.

"Make him well again. He knows it is wrong to destroy the Black Mesa. But forgive him. He must eat, and this is the only way he has to make his living."

Order from Highlander, P.O. Box 32313, Washington, DC 20007.

SPORTSCENE

BASEBALL

Angry umps call an "out"

By Beth Bogart

"Strike" is a dirty word for a baseball player up at bat, and it is equally hated by the 50 major league umpires who are refusing to work under the terms offered by the two leagues.

"We aren't on strike; after all, we have a no-strike provision in our agreement with the leagues," one umpire said. "We're just refusing to sign our individual contracts until we get some salary increases. So, we're not even baseball's employees—and no court can order us back to work."

This subtle distinction between a "strike" and being "out" of work is crucial in the umpires' battle with the leagues as it is to a batter. The umpires are locked into a collective-bargaining agreement with the leagues that extends through 1981. Striking for standard union benefits would bring them a court injunction to return to work, as it did when they walked out for a day last August.

The only flexibility in the five-year agreement is the provision insisting that each umpire sign an individual contract that sets his salary every year, a clause that enables the leagues to dump umps at a moment's notice. The umpires are now using this provision to their advantage, and have banded together to negotiate higher salaries and to balk at signing until all are satisfied.

A rookie major league umpire, who has apprenticed an average of ten years in the minor leagues at \$2,600 per year, earns \$17,500 under the league's current terms—which comes to about \$100 for each of the season's 162 games. After ten years in the majors, an umpire would earn \$32,500.

"That may sound like quite a lot of money to some people, but a large portion of an umpire sal-

ary—approximately \$5,000—goes to support himself for the seven and a half months he is on the road," said Richie Phillips, the Philadelphia attorney who is representing the umps in their dealings with the National and American leagues.

Compared to the salaries that referees in other American sports earn, baseball's umpires strike out. Basketball referees earn two and a half times more than umps, Phillips said, while football referees don't have to serve in minor leagues first and are flown home first-class to see their families during the season," Phillips said.

Compare umpires' salaries with the \$121,000 that an average short-stop makes, or Pete Rose's \$800,000 per year contract. "The increases the umpires want are so minimal—averaging about \$10,000 each—that the whole battle is ludicrous," Phillips said. If each of the 26 teams in the two leagues contributed an extra \$20,000, he said, there "would be enough to pay the higher salaries."

High expenses.

National League umpire Terry Tata has been in baseball's blue uniform 20 years, 13 in the minors—where he earned an average of \$300 per month—and is in his seventh year in the major leagues. "When I left the minors for the majors, it was a big thrill; my salary went from \$3,500 to \$12,500 and I thought it was a hell of an increase," Tata said. "When you're geared to the horrendous pay you get in the minors, you think you're in heaven. Then, after a few years, you come down to earth and you realize the deal isn't everything you thought. My expenses are outrageous and my per diem doesn't even begin to cover them," he said.

The leagues are offering \$53 per day for expenses (compared with football's \$100 per diem),



Paul Pryor is the lone working Major League umpire.

"I don't want to see baseball put me into poverty," says one veteran umpire.

which must pay for hotels, transportation to and from airports and ballparks, food, tips, laundry (umps are on the road for seven months) and locker room fees.

"One night in most hotels is over \$50, so you have to go into your own pocket if you even want a stick of gum," American League umpire Steve Palermo said. Palermo spent five years in the minors, making an average of \$400 per month for the six-month season, and has been in the majors for two years. "I don't want to see baseball put me into poverty, like I've seen happen to some older umpires who aren't being paid anything commensurate with their abilities, integrity and honesty," Palermo said.

"We're not going to be forced to offer new contracts because

the umpires aren't happy with the agreements," a spokesman for the American League said. "Don't forget, those salaries are for only six months' work."

Umpires who try to work during the off-season, however, usually get nowhere. "Who's going to hire me, knowing I'll be gone in a few months?" said Palermo. "Baseball did not really enhance my chances of getting jobs during the off-season." Further, umpires work almost every day during the season, rarely if ever see their families for those seven months and live under "kill-the-ump" strain in each game. The time off is sanity-leave, not vacation.

The leagues say the fight with the umpires is "not a matter of them getting enough money; it's a matter of principle. We have a

valid agreement and if we break it now, what's to say that we won't be forced to break it whenever the umpires are unhappy about something else?" according to the American League spokesman.

"That's a smokescreen," countered Phillips. "Baseball is trying to obscure the issue by saying we want to change the basic agreement that runs through 1981. That agreement only sets minimum salaries. Umpires are free to negotiate beyond those minimums," he said.

A federal district court in Philadelphia agreed with Phillips on March 27 when it rejected the leagues' efforts to get a back-to-work injunction against the umpires. "There is no question in my mind they are entitled to bargain as individuals," ruled Judge Joseph McGlynn.

Search for strike-breakers.

Faced with the court ruling and the umpires' solidarity, the leagues have turned to the minors to recruit strike-breaking umpires as the baseball season has started. Recently, four minor league umpires were "promoted up" to the majors, said the American League, and two supervisors were hired from the Umpire Development Program. In addition to the major league umpire who signed his contract, these professionals are the crew chiefs for three amateur umpires each baseball club hires for each game.

Most minor league umpires approached by the leagues turned down the strike-breaking, unprecedented two-year contracts offered, Phillips, Tata, Palermo and other umpires said. "They knew our problems, they realized they'd be put in the same situation if they accepted," Palermo said. "Like us, they want to get what is realistic for umpires," he said.

Most of those who accepted did so under the strain of working for years for \$400-600 per month—and of worrying that they would never make the majors, umpires from minor and major leagues agreed. "This is a fairy-tale come true," said one promoted minor league ump, "and I'm here to stay..."

How do the fans feel about the umpires' walk-out? "I get 999 good responses for every bad one," Palermo said. "People tell me not to go back to work until I get some compensation for my virtues. Umpires have to have a great deal of integrity and honesty," he said.

Integrity is such a crucial ingredient for major league umpires that leagues conduct rigorous "character checks" on prospective employees. "They came and talked to my neighbors, my bank, the people I do business with around town," before hiring him, Palermo said. Major league umpires are then "constantly watched and you have to be careful about what places you frequent and who you associate with," Palermo said.

Both sides in the battle do not see a quick resolution to the stand-off. The umpires say they are ready to negotiate but the leagues refuse. The leagues say they cannot go to the umpires to start talks because the umps "are no longer our employees" and that Phillips has made no overtures, so baseball must wait. ■

CULTURE SHOCK



OOPS

Paul Krassner remembers: During NBC's coverage of the Three Mile Island horror, a Bufferin commercial interrupted, in which a black woman cheerfully warned, "You can't be too careful these days."

SO IT'S SETTLED

The FCC refused a request filed last week by a pro-Nazi group for equal time to argue against Holocaust's assertion of a German policy of genocide during WWII.

LEMME GUESS

Welcoming record industry reps to the White House, Jimmy Carter praised them as "innovative, dynamic, pleasant and profitable," then paused and said, "I was just trying to see which one of these adjectives appealed to you."

LIFE UPSIDE DOWN

Paul Krassner speculates: In China there is a combination roller skating rink and massage parlor, called The American Syndrome.

AT LEAST SOMEBODY'S HAPPY

Warner Communications chair Steven J. Ross on April 3 announced record profits, especially in theatrical rentals, and commented, "If, God forbid, a recession does hit, the movie business does better. People have to be entertained."

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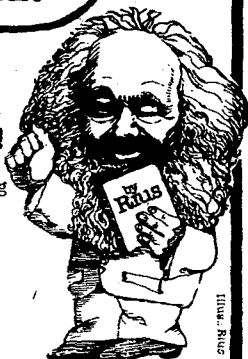
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BOOKS

Black worker's journal

By Jeremy Brecher

For many years, one of my most cherished possessions has been a little paperback, privately published in 1952, called *Indignant Heart*. It was the autobiography of a black auto worker, Matthew Ward. *Indignant Heart* has now been reissued with a new section continuing the story from 1952 to the present. "Matthew Ward" is identified as a pseudonym for Charles Denby, now editor of the Detroit workers newspaper, *News and Letters*.

As literature, as a historical document, and as a political statement, *Indignant Heart* is a classic. It is the appropriate sequel to *All God's Dangers*, the continuation of the saga of black resistance from the rural South to the industrial North.

Charles Denby was born in 1907 in Lowndes County, Ala. His grandmother had been a slave; she told him about the whipping post for women near her home, and when he asked, "Where is the whipping ground for men?" she told him, "Any place." She also told him of secret meetings in the woods during slavery days, from which slaves would slip away and escape. The twin themes of oppression and resistance run throughout the book.

Denby gives a vivid picture of the day-to-day resistance of the black community on the plantation. The owner would buy 50 to 100 new mules each year; the tenants would plow so deep that the mules would stop and lie down, giving everyone a break. (The mules rarely lasted more than a year.) The owners' barns were repeatedly burned down.

In 1924, Denby went north to

work in Detroit. Racial tensions were relatively low—blacks and whites boarded in the same houses, socialized together, and even dated. Violent conflicts sometimes erupted between blacks and Poles, however. And discrimination in employment was nearly universal.

When the big layoffs came in 1929, Denby reluctantly returned to the South. When large-scale hiring of blacks resumed in 1943, he returned to Detroit, "never so glad for anything in my life."

Here began his experience with the problems of black workers with the union—and his efforts to develop an independent black response. Over opposition by both union and management, he helped organize work stoppages that eventually ensured the opportunity for black women workers to transfer out of the department into more desirable jobs. This is the first in a series of accounts of such struggles.

Meanwhile, various groups in Detroit began trying to recruit Denby. The left-wing caucus of the United Auto Workers, which included both Reuther and the Communist Party at that time, ran him as their delegate to the Wayne County CIO convention. He was never able to accept their support of the no-strike pledge, however. He remained suspicious of the Communist Party: "When I talk to Negro Stalinists, I know and feel it is the party first, second and always...it is never the Negroes first, whatever they say."

He was so impressed by what seemed the genuine commitment of the Trotskyists to helping blacks that he joined and began recruiting his friends. He gradually became disillusioned with the attitude that, as one white

comrade put it, "The Negroes will have to forget they are Negroes and be Marxists." He tried to maintain an independent black organization in alliance with the Party, but was ordered to take it into the NAACP—whose passivity most of the group had already rejected. When he failed to liquidate the group, he was brought up on charges.

The original edition of *Indignant Heart* concluded with his exit from the Party. The new edition brings his story up to date.

Denby returned to the South after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation in 1954. He gives a brief but moving survey of the civil rights movement from the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 through the rise of the black power movement in the early 1970's. Of particular interest is his account of the civil rights movement in Lowndes County, where he opposed Stokely Carmichael's attempt to foment armed struggle through the original Black Panther Party.

"I told them that while Stokely had done many brave and good things, nobody could say for sure where he was going. He didn't have to live in Lowndes County, while the black people there, on the other hand, did not have any place else to go...whatever freedom they were winning, and would continue to win, would have to be defended by them on their own grounds, in their own way, with their own methods."

Denby continued working in a Detroit auto plant, and in the early '60s became the editor of *News and Letters*, a paper designed to "provide a forum where workers could speak for themselves."

A few themes shine out from the book and inform its anec-



Chrysler worker after Detroit sit-down, August 1973.

dotes. Perhaps most fundamental is his belief in the power of self-initiated and self-directed action. In reflecting on the Montgomery bus boycott and the subsequent black struggle, he commented, "No one can set the time, date or place for the self activities of the blacks, as the Communist and other radical parties have always tried to do."

Second, he opposes the idea that there is "no black question" outside of the class question. This argument is used to keep black struggles under the control of the trade union officialdom.

A third theme is the development of workers' action independent of the union officialdom, and often directed against it. He traces the decay of the UAW from the days when meetings were jammed and dealt with the problems of the shop, and when he felt that "our relations as union members" should be "as close as

possible, next to immediate family relations." In Part II he writes that "the union is now changed so totally that it is in absolute opposition to the workers and their struggles in the shop." In the 1973 sit-downs, for example, UAW officials like Doug Fraser attacked Chrysler for agreeing to workers' demands and negotiating with them.

Denby expresses a conviction that goes beyond any organization, any social group, any program. As he put it at the conclusion to the original edition, "For the future, I can't make any blueprints but I know where I feel best. That's in the plant with my friends on the line when we're fighting the company and fighting the union on an issue..."

Jeremy Brecher is the author of *Strike!*.

(*Indignant Heart* is available from South End Press, Paper \$4.80, cloth \$12.)

Doctor prescribes "No Nukes"

By Roh Wilson Okun

Against the backdrop of the radioactive cloud from Three Mile Island, newspapers, radio and TV inundated the public with crash courses in atomic energy, but rarely with in-depth information. Over the last several years a growing body of nuclear literature has emerged to fill that need.

A much needed recent addition to the literature is Dr. Helen Caldicott's *Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do*. Despite a growing (and healthy) skepticism of Western medicine, when a doctor tells us something we usually listen. When the doctor's counsel is coupled with her own actions, we sit up and take notice. Dr. Caldicott's prescription is: "No nukes."

Her powerful new book recounts the history of the nuclear nightmare with both convincing medical data and personal conviction. For most of her professional life, Dr. Caldicott has devoted herself to working with cystic fibrosis patients. Now practicing at Children's Hospital in Boston, she says the experience of watching children die of that disease and from leukemia and cancer motivated her to write the book.

Early on, she recounts the story of her role in halting French atmospheric testing in the South Pacific. She began with a letter

to the editor of her local newspaper, protesting the French tests. Soon, television stations were inviting her to discuss the medical hazards posed by fallout. Before long, a movement to stop the tests coalesced around the medical facts. Within a year, 75 percent of the Australian public opposed the French tests. Finally, Dr. Caldicott and a delegation of concerned citizens flew to Paris where they met with representatives of the French government. France eventually announced that testing would be restricted to underground sites.

Working in the medical and scientific community, Caldicott knows first-hand that specialists, politicians and experts cannot be entrusted with our lives and those of future generations. Most government officials are shockingly uninformed about the medical implications of nuclear power and atomic warfare, and yet they daily make life and death decisions in regards to these issues. Caldicott claims the responsibility for this ignorance lies with the medical profession: too many have remained silent about the hazards of nuclear radiation, despite the fact that they acknowledge such radiation to be a definite cause of cancer and genetic disease.

To Helen Caldicott, nuclear power and nuclear war are primarily medical issues. "Arguments

about profits, jobs and politics are reduced to irrelevancy when our children are threatened with epidemics of leukemia and cancer.... The logic of the argument that it is important to build death industries to supply jobs that will eventually kill the people who hold those jobs—and their children—escapes me.

"It is currently believed that 80 percent of all cancers are caused by environmental factors. By definition, therefore, they are preventable. The U.S. government spends millions of dollars each year funding medical research into the cause and cure of this dreaded disease. At the same time, however, it spends billions of dollars funding the weapons and nuclear power industries—which propagate the diseases doctors are struggling to conquer."

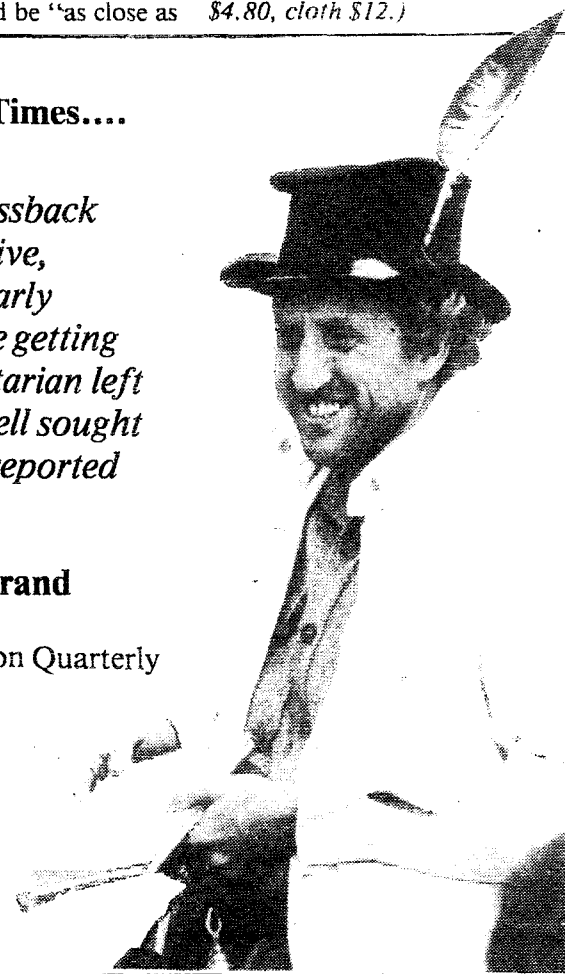
"Those of us in the medical profession must begin to practice 'political medicine' that opposes industrial practices that contaminate the environment with disease causing agents.... As a doctor, as well as a mother and world citizen, I wish to practice the ultimate form of preventative medicine by ridding the earth of nuclear technologies, which propagate suffering, disease and death."

Nuclear Madness is published by Autumn Press, 25 Dwight St., Brookline, MA 02146, \$3.95 paper, \$7.95 cloth.

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By Bruce Dancis

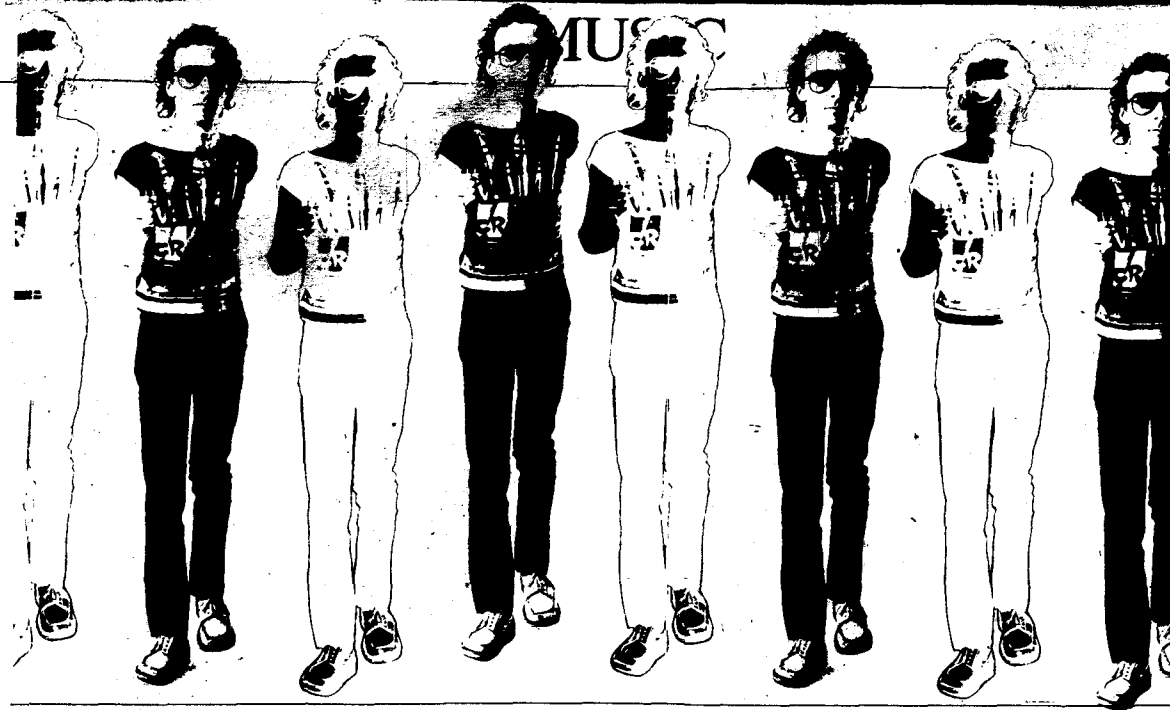
Let us not speak falsely now. The plastic music is at the gate and our souls are being tested.

Graham Parker and the Rumour combine the lyrical anger and intelligence of Bob Dylan with the melodic perfection of the Beatles and the power of the Rolling Stones. They are, in short, the finest band rock has to offer. If you doubt my word, one listen to their new album, *Squeezing Out Sparks* (Arista Records), should suffice.

What separates Parker from other good rock singers is not just his magnificent voice—clear, yet tough at the same time. Throughout his work, since first coming to public attention in 1976, Parker has seen through lies based on class, sentimentality, religion.

No deserving target escapes. On a new song that may become his trademark, "Passion Is No Ordinary Word," Parker rages against hypocrisy—in this case, the falsehoods of love. Another song he is performing on his current U.S. tour, the unrecorded "Mercury Poisoning" pours a vat of anger on his former record company.

Despite his bitterness, there is no self-pity in Parker. Son of a waitress and a truck driver from a small town south of London, Parker has learned the lesson that when you're working class, the only thing that feeling sorry for yourself will get you is alcoholism. It's better to howl in the



World's best rock band

wind, to shout jeremiads, than to succumb to defeatism and mediocrity.

Parker would no doubt be a superb performer even if he came out and sang *a capella*. But the Rumour, arguably the tightest assemblage in rock, makes the experience overpowering.

Formed out of three fine bands from Britain's early '70s "Pub Rock" scene—a back to the clubs, back to rhythm and blues movement—the Rumour have cut two albums on their own, in addition to their four studio albums with

Parker and one with Carlene Carter. (Their most recent, *Frogs Sprouts Clogs and Krauts*, a witty rejoinder to David Bowie's Europhilic *Station to Station*, is available at this time only as a Stiff Records import.) Guitarists Brinsley Schwarz and Martin Belmont, keyboard player Bob Andrews, bassist Andrew Bodnar, and drummer Steve Goulding reflect a musical maturity without having lost a feeling of urgency. ensemble playing conveys the desired mood? So when Schwartz takes a guitar lead in his crying,

cutting style, it's tremendous.

In a recent San Francisco date, the first stop on their nationwide tour, Parker and the Rumour stormed through 21 songs in 90 minutes. They covered the best material from their first three albums—including "Don't Ask Me Questions" on *Howlin' Wind*, "Pourin' It All Out" from *Heat Treatment*, and "Thunder and Rain" on *Stick to Me*—and also doing several unrecorded songs.

Like the Stones, the Rumour understand the first axiom of rock mathematics: the whole is greater

than its parts. Why go off on endless solos when compact, intense

But the majority of the songs were from *Squeezing Out Sparks*. If a better LP has been released in the past year and a half—since GP and the Rumour's last studio album—I haven't heard it. The band and producer Jack Nitzsche have abandoned the wall-of-sound approach favored by previous producer Nick Lowe.

Instead, Schwarz' guitar takes on the dominant instrumental role both on the album and in concert. This makes particular sense with Parker's new songs. Nearly every one begins with a contagious guitar riff that leads into Parker's vocals.

And those vocals are unsurpassed. The only rock singer who has ever approached them was Van Morrison around the time of *Astral Weeks*. Both are small men (Parker, at 5'5" and 110 pounds, is much smaller) possessing astounding strength and depth. But where Morrison shrinks back from his power, Parker has no such angst.

Watching Parker pounding his fist into his hand in time to the music, grabbing the mike, jerking around, singing with unequalled passion and feeling, one can begin to understand the unfathomable—why rock music can have such a compelling grip on us.

At a different time, at a different place, I thought the Rolling Stones were the greatest rock band in the world. Maybe they were. But not any more.

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TELEVISION

Shakespeare for export creates mini-industry

By Mathew Winston

Henry VIII is the last play that Shakespeare wrote (probably in collaboration with his successor, John Fletcher). Appropriately enough, the production of this play on public television stations Wednesday, April 25, concludes the first of six seasons that will present all of Shakespeare's plays.

Despite its obscurity, *Henry VIII* should have special appeal on television. It is a spectacular play, as a witness of its first performance in 1613 noted; he commented in a letter that the drama was "set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of pomp and majesty." The television audience has an advantage over him, for he never got to see the entire play: a cannon fired during the first act to herald King Henry's arrival set fire to the Globe Theater, which burned to the ground. The director of this performance, Kevin Billington, has made the most of the play's spectacular nature by filming it on location at three British castles.

Henry VIII satisfies our love of pageantry. It also feeds our desire to see the private lives, passions and intrigues of famous people—and their public consequences—in a way that anticipates such television successes as *I, Claudius* and, more to the point, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*. The play's prologue asks us to "think ye see the very persons of our noble story as they were living," and we watch King Henry (played by John Stride) turn away from his wife of 20 years, Katherine of Aragon (Claire Bloom), in favor of Anne Boleyn (Barbara Kellerman). Henry's first words to Anne, "Sweetheart, I were un-mannerly to take you out and not

to kiss you," lead to the events that made England a Protestant nation.

Glory is not the only thing that "The Shakespeare Plays," as the series is formally known, is bringing to England. A British scholar of Shakespeare recently told me that he found the series "dutiful." First, he observed, it pays obligatory homage to Shakespeare. Second, it pays. It is a product the BBC can export.

These shows have caused some consternation in the U.S. They are another in the long string of British imports that have dominated American public television. Millions of dollars are leaving the U.S. to pay British actors and technical people. Protests against this fact, from George Meany among others, led the Corporation for Public Broadcasting to withdraw financial support from the U.S. government, whose place has been supplied by private corporations. Yet, the American Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) has not shown similar initiative; and it would cost many millions more to produce these films with American crews and actors of comparable distinction.

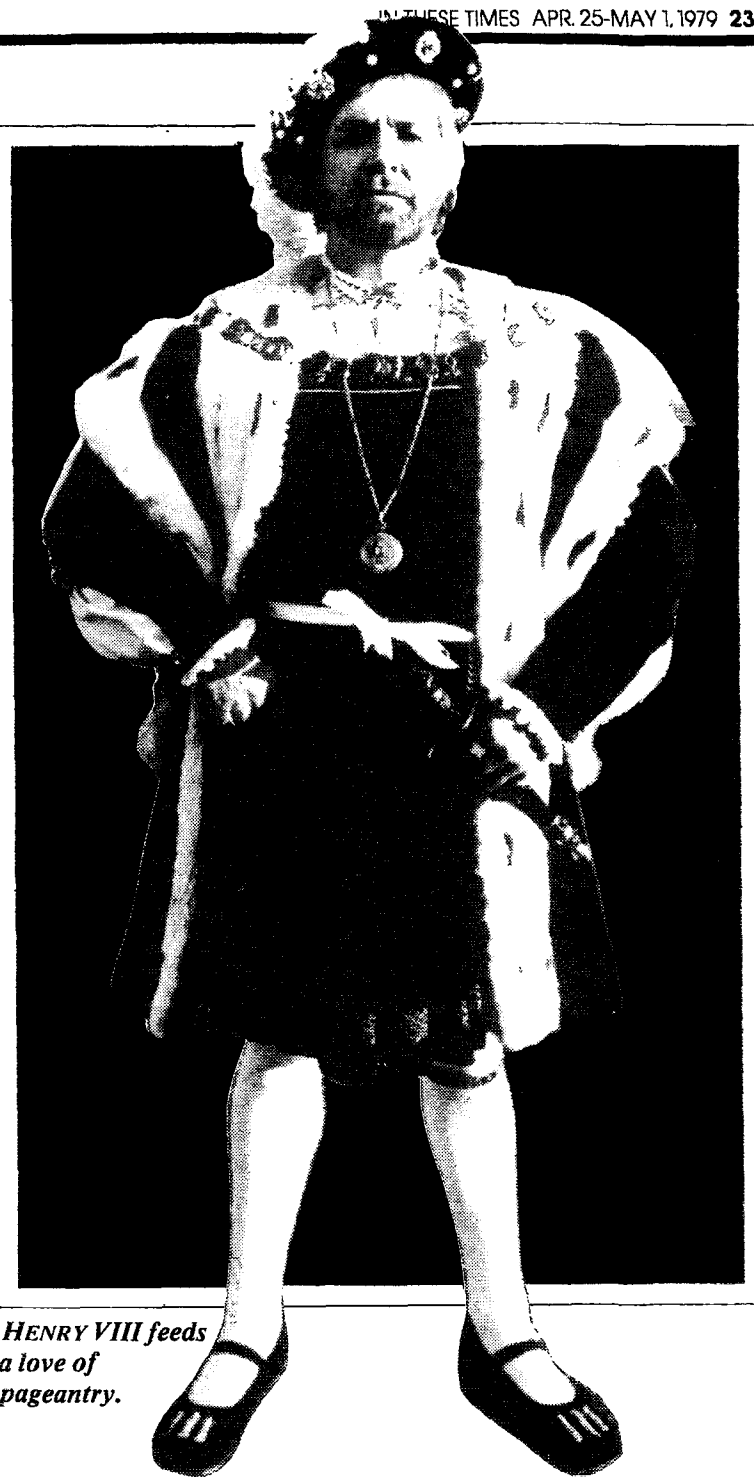
Theatrical producer Joseph Papp, who is now putting on several of Shakespeare's plays with all-black casts, laments that British accents may double the problems American audience have in understanding Shakespeare's words. The difficulty, no greater than with any other British programming, tends to disappear after one has listened for a while to diction that is closer to Shakespeare's than is our own; in any case, it is compensated for by the training British actors receive in speaking blank verse.

The American organizations connected with this project, both

private and public, are making an unprecedented attempt to make Shakespeare accessible. Stone Associates, a public relations firm, has provided thorough publicity and an unusually lavish press kit. And one of its subsidiaries, Tel-Ed, has put together a fine educational kit distributed gratis by the series' underwriters to 37,000 secondary schools across the country. This includes posters; ditto-masters about Shakespeare, his theater, and each of the plays shown this season; a teacher's guide to the dramas; and two long-playing records on which the actors and directors read Shakespeare's lines and discuss characterizations and staging. Viewers may earn college credit as well through a course based on the series, and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., plans an exhibit of Shakespeareana that will tour the U.S.

PBS has prepared an attractive and helpful free viewer's guide to the plays. Public radio stations have arranged for commentaries before each TV broadcast, and individual affiliates have scheduled related lectures and programs of English Renaissance music and of operas based on Shakespeare's plays. Video-cassettes of the plays will be available for sale or rental through Time/Life Corporation, which co-produced the series with the BBC. Phonograph records may follow.

BBC offshoots have been less impressive. The BBC has its own set of televised commentaries to follow each play, a poor example of which was aired here after *Julius Caesar*. The rest have been dropped from the American programming, which may be for the best, although it deprived us of the chance to hear Germaine



HENRY VIII feeds a love of pageantry.

Greer talk about love in *Romeo and Juliet*. The BBC is also publishing a new paperback edition of Shakespeare's plays, distributed in the U.S. by Mayflower books. Each volume indicates the cuts made and scene breaks added, has color photographs of the production, and provides an interesting essay about how the play was prepared for television. Otherwise, the text has no footnotes, only an appended glossary, and is simply not worth \$2.95 when the Signet, Pelican, or Folger editions

can be bought at half the price.

Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* has an epilogue (probably by Fletcher) that acknowledges: "'Tis ten to one this play can never please all that are here." The same may be said about any of Shakespeare's plays or about these new productions and their ramifications. I viewed the plays together with my teen-age daughter, and I watched as she became increasingly drawn into each play. "The Shakespeare Plays" has fulfilled at least some of its aspirations. ■

'Quality TV' goes 'bargain basement'

By Albert Auster

CBS is referred to by people in television as the "Tiffany's" of the industry, because of its 20 year supremacy in the ratings race and its innovative sitcoms (*I Love Lucy*, *All in the Family*), outstanding dramatic series (*Guns, Smoke, The Defenders*, *Kojak*), and CBS news reporting. However, all of that changed in 1976 when CBS lost its ratings top spot to ABC. Board chairman William S. Paley came out of quasi-retirement and fired his heir-presumptive Arthur Taylor. Finally, when the ratings didn't improve, he dumped CBS' whole broadcasting team.

The shakeup didn't get back the coveted number one spot. More important, even though one CBS executive charged that the ABC shows were "trash," CBS began coolly picking up a number of the discarded ABC programs (*Six Million Dollar Woman*, *The New Wonder Woman*) and even developed similar ones of its own (*The Incredible Hulk*, *The Dukes of Hazzard*).

Still CBS programming hasn't

capitulated to the "TV comic book" approach. Attempts were made to maintain the CBS tradition of "quality TV" (serious drama, dramatic series and documentaries). As the ratings war heats up, however, the quality in "quality TV" has begun to slump. This is particularly evident in the "dramatic series."

The Paper Chase was developed from the 1973 Academy Award winning film about a group of first-year law students at a prestigious East Coast school and their encounters with a tyrannical but brilliant professor, Charles Kingsfield (John Houseman). Even though the film was released in 1972, it still had faint resonances of the '60s. Indeed, Timothy Bottoms, who played the starring role of Hart, eventually rebels against the idea of becoming a duplicate of Kingsfield. However, in the TV series none of the prospective lawyers has even the slightest thought of rebellion. Instead they all seem intent on becoming clerks for some Supreme Court Justice.

With even the faint residue of '60s social concern gone, the only interesting political situations on



Paley: "The Chairman likes it."

the show are those that deal with feminism. One of the study group that weekly jousts with Kingsfield is a woman, Elizabeth Logan (Francine Tacker). Logan is as brilliant as she is beautiful, and a feminist to boot.

But her feminism is purely individual. For instance, on one show a professor tried the wimpiest form of sexual blackmail and in her fury she practically burned down the campus. However, on another program, when feminists in the law school decided to confront a liberal Supreme Court Justice about his perennial failure to appoint a woman clerk, she was turned off by the "extremism" of the organized women students.

The only real political excitement of the show is generated by trying to guess whether Kingsfield is a liberal or a conserva-

tive (Frankfurter or Brandeis). Since he is played by Academy Award winner Houseman—a mandarin of American political theater with a career that goes back to the Federal Theater and Mercury Players—perhaps he's a liberal. But the tyrannical way he runs his class makes him look like Dickens' Mr. Gradgrind.

The major problem of the show is its one note performances. Each week's clashes with Kingsfield begin to take on the semblance of law school Perry Mason. And since nobody in the study group flunks out, and Kingsfield can't become a loveable old codger, the show is as ritualized as Kabuki.

Although *The Paper Chase* has done poorly in the ratings it has been kept in the lineup because, as rumor has it, "the chairman likes it." How the chairman feels about *The White Shadow* is still unknown. A late-season replacement for some dumped sitcoms, *Shadow* is about a former NBA star, Ken Reeves (Ken Howard), whose basketball career is ended by a leg injury. As a result, he decides to try coaching a Los Angeles ghetto high school basketball team.

The best thing about the show is Howard, a John Lindsey look-alike, who plays Reeves with a working-class accent and court moves to match (Howard was a high school all-star who received numerous college scholarship of-

fers). Another important asset is the high quality acting and ball-playing of the black and Hispanic youngsters who make up the team (Kevin Hooks, Thomas Carter, Nathan Cook, Timothy Van Patten, Byron Stewart, Ira Augustain).

The producers couldn't resist "Kotterizing" the show, and they provide constant comic relief (or try to). This sometimes throws things off stride, particularly when the show tackles difficult topics. For example, in one episode one of the team members is accused of homosexuality, but it turns out that the student only had an adolescent crush on a friend and never acted on it. Rather than ask what it might mean for a known homosexual to be on an athletic team, the show mounted a liberal attack on guilt-by-innuendo. Any critique of super-masculinity was not helped by having scenes of Howard trying to teach a Home Ec class dressed in an apron and making bad jokes about it.

In his recently published autobiography, *As It Happened*, Paley suggests that the networks each put aside two hours of prime time programming each week for "quality TV." But despite what critics are calling the "Pax Paley," the damage may have already been done. "Quality TV" may be the sunset dream of a man who sees "Tiffany's" turning into Macy's basement. ■



Misapplied Physics

The writer of "The China Syndrome" talks about Three Mile Island.

By Pat Aufderheide

MICHAEL GRAY, AERONAUTICAL engineer, original scriptwriter for *The China Syndrome* and newsman, has just come back from Harrisburg. For days he had covered the Three Mile Island story for *Rolling Stone*. Now, passing through his home town, he has stopped by to tell some Chicago high school kids about the thing that scares him most: nuclear power.

"If a 747 flew in this window here and killed us all," he says in a firm expository tone, "it would all be over in a minute. They'd come in and scrape up the bodies and clean up the mess, and that would be it. A hundred years from now, it's a newspaper clipping. Unfortunate for us, but a localized problem."

"People say, what if we had refused to build ships after the Titanic sunk? Well, what if the Titanic was still killing people?"

"People make mistakes. All the time. When we're designing an airplane, that's not serious, because somebody tests it. We send a test pilot up there, and when he pulls the stick he'll find out whether I designed the wings right or not. But with nuclear power, they've loaded us all on the first flight. We're all test pilots."

The kids are impressed. This explanation doesn't sound sappy or churchy. Gray sounds almost amused by the awful idiocy of the problem.

The kids have been listening to news reports for over a week and taken classes on the nuclear issue. Some of their teachers are anti-nuke activists. But they're confused. What does it mean, really? Just why is this a different order of problem? Mike Gray explains:

"Radiation can physically injure you. But what's worse, you could pick up a particle of radiation in a piece of dust or a grain of sand, and it will kill you. And after it's done with that, it will still be available to kill others for the next 25,000 years."

"Radioactive particles have very low energy. If a particle of plutonium drifts by here and I hold up a piece of paper, it'll stop. But if I don't have that piece of paper and it goes on into my body and into my lung—then I have lung cancer. As an absolute certainty. Not if, but when. It goes on radiating at that same low energy level, as long as I'm alive, and it bombards cells around it until it eventually nicks one. And that's it."

Mike Gray only started to worry about nuclear power as the problem when he read a book called *Poisoned Power*, by John Goffman and Arthur Tamplin.

"Goffman and Tamplin just asked what would happen if all the plants that were planned were built, and if they operated normally. They discovered cancer rates would go up. Their estimates were very conservative—an increase of 36,000 cases of lung cancer a decade—and they've been revised since."

"I was so terrified that the day after I read it I flew up to San Francisco to visit Arthur Tamplin. He wasn't much help—it turned out he was pretty much a hopeless drunk—he'd been fired, his grant was dropped, once he turned in the results of his study. And then he was subjected to intense pressure, from his fellow intellectuals in the scientific community to shut up. Because there's so much money involved—but you know how that works."

Yes, they know. But jobs aren't bothering them yet. Health is. They want to know just how dangerous Three Mile Island is; you can see them imagining holding pieces of paper in front of their lungs for years.

"At Harrisburg most of the radiation release was gaseous. Once that's dissipated, it's pretty much gone. There's a mess on the island, of course, and I don't think they'll ever save the plant. In the containment area last week there was 30,000 Roentgens, and that'll kill you in 50 seconds."

"They're saying there are no deaths or injuries from the accident. Well, that's not true. They mean to say there are no provable deaths or injuries. What they're saying is, 'You can't hang us with this one, buddy, because nobody fell down.'"

What about the people in Middletown, right next to the cloud of radiation? A student wonders what happens when, nine months after the accident, "some poor lady gets a baby that's born with dolphin flippers." A teacher suggests that people are too anxious to talk about their fear—that the danger is too terrible to contemplate when it might, just might, be you with that particle bleeping fatally inside. Mike Gray agrees.

"I talked to one worker who was quitting. I talked to somebody who defended the company. Some were trying to sell their property, but they have discovered, of course, that they would have a hard time selling it. I met people who were trying to joke about it, laugh it off. But they were worried sick."

"One man said to me, 'I had a garden. The peas were just coming up, and I'd bought the mulch. I was really looking forward to a good year, and now I'm afraid to touch it.' Another man said to me, 'I just hope they don't fuck up the river. You know, this is some of the best fishing in Pennsylvania.'"

Wasn't Mike Gray scared, too, sitting on top of a radioactive cloud?

"Yes, it's the 'pendulum of fear,' as a Harrisburg reporter called it. You know, we were all waiting around for the President to arrive, around 30 reporters, and we're watching the plume blow to the south and we're standing north, feeling fine. Suddenly the wind changes and the stuff begins to blow toward us."

"So. It's ten minutes till the President comes. You look at your watch, then you look at the plume—it's one of those moments when you'd rather die than make an ass out of yourself."

"I was busy working for the rest of the day. But when I got back to the hotel at night, there was plenty of time to think. By one o'clock in the morning my roommate, a Chicago photographer, and I had worked ourselves into a tizzy, and we were almost praying. And it wasn't just us. I found out later that just when we were panicking in the hotel room, 30 newsmen broke into the governor's press secretary's office demanding to know, not what the story was, but *should we get out?*"

Mike Gray, with his genial everyday style and his authoritative information, is walking proof that you don't have to be an expert to understand this killing-important issue. The kids like him, and they care about nuclear danger.

But they can't stand it any longer. They

want to know—what's it like to be next to Jane Fonda?

"Jack Lemmon, Jane Fonda and Michael Douglas are three of the finest people that you'll ever want to meet, and I'm sure they would agree with my assessment. Jane is, of course, now a national institution, and it's hard to be an institution and a human being, because people want so much out of you; but she speaks from the heart. Michael Douglas is one of the most courageous young men I know; he got behind this project in 1976, right after *Cuckoo's Nest*, and wouldn't let go till he finished it. And Jack Lemmon drinks a little too much, but so do I. He's very very hard working."

"Incidentally, Jack's character is modelled after a real character who I met at Zion [a nuclear plant near Chicago]. It's not that the guy at Zion did what Jack's character did, but when I met him I understood something."

"I saw where this guy was coming from. It's a question of faith. The movie was really about a priest who had lost his faith. Faith requires a set of perceptions, and, also, that any information that conflicts with them be deflected."

So how did the high priests of nuclear power let the film people make a movie inside a real power plant?

"In L.A. the film business is supreme. There's an unwritten law that everything you see is for rent or sale. The Department of Water and Power is under the direct control of the mayor, who is under the thumb of the film industry. And here they were dealing with two of the industry's best and finest—Fonda and Douglas. What could they say? It was one of those rare situations where we had more leverage than General Electric."

Gray is proud of the effect *China Syndrome* has had. "It has changed peoples' lives to some extent—at least I hope it has. I didn't make it because I was in love with the film—I was worried about the issue."

He defines himself, first of all, as a newsman. "I make news movies," says the man who made *The Murder of Fred Hampton*. He understands the human construction of technology, and he applies his engineering background to his news coverage. His next project, he hopes, will be a 26-hour television series on NASA's space programs. Like *Victory at Sea*, it will be a historical documentary.

"I found out that NASA has six million feet of film from the space shots. It's not classified; we paid for it; it's public property. It cost each man, woman and child in the U.S. \$300. So I'd like to use it to tell the story of the people who made exploration in space possible."

The kids are sitting in a class on government in a homey suburb of the second biggest city in the U.S. They are ringed about with nuclear reactors, in a state where 40 percent of the power generated comes from nuclear plants. They want to know—does Mike Gray, the man with all the answers today, think that two new nuclear plants presently scheduled around Chicago will be built?

"That's up to you. I'm no longer an Illinois resident. We are the people who control the government. Of course, individually we are powerless. But we have the power to decide. And we will." ■